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ABSTRACT

These four issues include the following articles: "Cheke Holo Orthography: Local Tradition Clashes with a Linguist's Concerns" (Freddy Boswell); "Avoiding Tone Marks: A Remnant of English Education?" (Mike Cahill); "Nontraditional Education among the Iranun, a Malaysian Ethnic Minority" (Karla Smith); "Learning Well: The Socioliteracy of Some Incipient Literate Women in a Ghanaian Community" (Merieta Johnson); "Training National Partners for Leadership: Priorities for Training as Capacity Building" (Susan Malone); "Cumulative Index 1966-2001"; "Factors Affecting Community Literacy Programs: Assessment and Response" (Barbara Trudell); "Mother-Tongue Education in Schools in Tharaka Language Group of Kenya" (Leila Schroeder); "The Recent History of Education in Cambodia" (Ari Vitikainen); "Orthography Challenges in Bantu Languages" (William Gardner); "Training Nationals in Literature Production: An Experience in Northwestern Benin" (JeDene Reeder and Elizabeth L. White); "Transitional Literature among the Cotabato Manobo, Philippines" (Nida Guil-an Apang); and "Pedagogical Dictionaries: Ho-hum or Gung-ho?" (Louise Maranz). The issues also include reviews of books on such topics as training for transformation, misreading reading, reading instruction that works, evaluating literacy for development efforts, foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism, teaching adult second language learners, and using newspapers in classrooms. (Adjunct ERIC Clearinghouse for ESL Literacy Education.) (SM)

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Cheke Holo Orthography: Local Tradition Clashes with a Linguist's Concerns

Freddy Boswell

Freddy Boswell has worked as a linguist and translation advisor with the Cheke Holo people of Solomon Islands since 1989. His wife, Bekah, worked primarily in literacy materials production. Currently, the Boswells are based in Dallas, where Freddy serves as International Translation Coordinator for SIL.

Introduction

Cheke Holo, referred to in shortened form as Holo, is an Austronesian language found primarily on Santa Isabel island of Solomon Islands and spoken by at least 8,000 people as their first language. Potentially a couple of thousand other folk from neighboring language groups speak Cheke Holo as a second or third language. As a language name, Cheke Holo means "language of the interior of the island". The two major dialects are Maringe and Hograno and are located in the southern half of Santa Isabel on the eastern and western sides of the island, respectively. Cheke Holo is classified as Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Western Oceanic.

The major features of Cheke Holo phonology have been documented in Boswell (1999). As stated in that paper, linguists Geoffrey White (White et al. 1988) and David Bosma (1981a) both attempted to apply their phonological analyses to produce what they regarded as an improved orthography, but these efforts were met with firm resistance. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries linguists and missionaries had helped the Holo people to write down their language, and the orthography used at that time has in turn been passed down to successive generations of Holo speakers.[1] Before looking at the proposed revised orthography, a

[1]Some sources need to be uncovered, oral or written, which can help us to determine exactly how the Cheke Holo language was first written, and then analyse any changes which may have occurred between then and now. Codrington (1885) and Ray (1926) provide the earliest published documentation of the language, but a history of the actual spelling by the people themselves is unfortunately not available. All I have ever been told is, "This is the way we have always written it." Further interaction yields the information that "early missionaries wrote it down". That statement generates many more questions than it answers, but does tell

chart of the consonantal phonemes is presented followed by a historical representation of the orthography.

Chart of consonantal phonemes

		Labial	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops and affricates	**vl**	p	t	ʧ	k	ʔ
	aspirated	ph	th		kh	
	vd	b	d	ʤ	g	
	vl prenasalisation	ᵐb			ᵑg	
Fricatives	**vl**	f	s		x	h
	vd	v	z		ɣ	
Nasals	**vl**	m̥	n̥	ɲ̊	ŋ̊	
	vd	m	m	ñ	ŋ	
Lateral approximants	**vl**		ɭ̊			
	vd		l			
Trill	**vl**		r̥			
	vd		r			

me there is some history that needs uncovering. I know of no current source for accessing that information.

Historical representation of the orthography

Consonantal phoneme	Historical representation
p	p
p^h	ph
t	t
t^h	th
k	k
k^h	kh
ʔ	Ø
b	b
d	d
g	ḡ
$^{m̥}b$	bh
$^{ŋ̊}g$	ḡh
ʧ	ch
ʤ	j
f	f
s	s
v	v
z	z
ɣ	g
x	gh
h	h
m	m
m̥	mh
n	n
n̥	nh
ŋ	ñ
ŋ̊	ñh
ñ	gn
ñ̥	gnh
l	l
l̥	lh
r	r
ɾ	rh

Bosma's suggested revised orthography: Reasons and representation

The basic revision, as described by Bosma (1981a) concerned the representation of two different type sound patterns: (1) those reflecting a range of voiceless consonants, and (2) those reflecting voiced velar stops and nasals. He suggested eleven changes in the orthography. These are noted in the chart at the end of this section.

For the range of voiceless consonants, the first problem concerns the representation of what he called "strengthened consonants."[2] As noted in the phoneme chart above, all of the nasals, laterals, and trills have voiceless counterparts.[3] The voiceless sound was described by Bosma (1981a) as the production of the consonantal sound preceded by a puff of air. He represented this sound in the language by the letter 'h' preceding the consonant. Thus, /m̥ata/ 'interior' was spelled as hmata (though historically spelled mhata) and /n̥anai/ 'eight' was spelled as hnanai (historically nhanai). Bosma felt that the placement of the h before the nasal stop represented what the people knew emically was happening in the production of the stop, and would thus be easier for new readers to grasp, rather than having the 'h' come after the sound, as was represented in the historically accepted orthography. Bill Palmer (1999) has recently analysed a similar type phenomenon in the Kokota language, which borders Cheke Holo on the north.[4]

In the same type patterning, Bosma (1981a) felt another adjustment was needed with the representation of the voiceless continuants /l̥/ and /r̥/. Thus /l̥oti/ 'prevent' was spelled hloti, and /r̥ana/ 'startled' was hrana.

The representation of the voiced and voiceless velar fricative presented another type challenge, and the possible adjustment was thus different in that the 'h' took a position following rather than preceding the consonant. Bosma (1981a) represented the /ɣ/ as 'gh'. For the voiceless coun-

---

[2]Bosma (1981a) proposed this term as he interacted with the data he presented.

[3]The voiced stops /b d g/ all have voiceless and voiceless aspirated phonemic counterparts, but Bosma's suggested orthographical changes were not directed at any features related to these phonemes, since they were written in an easily reproduced way.

[4]Palmer examined the occurrence of voiceless sonorants, trying to determine if they are underlyingly phonemes, or "the result of synchronic surface coalescence of underlying /h/ plus sonorant clusters". He makes a fairly strong case that these are indeed underlying voiceless sonorant phonemes, noting that if the opposite were true, then they would reflect proto-Isabel forms with that order. Instead, he found that "the segment order of these proto forms is the reverse of that which generated underlying clusters". Thus, the phonemic inventory he presents is quite similar to Cheke Holo, in which every voiced phoneme has a voiceless counterpart.

terpart, he applied the same type principle of representing the 'puff of air preceding the sound,' and thus the /x/ became 'hgh'. In the latter, of course, the 'h' occurred both before and after the consonant.

The second type of sound patterns requiring orthographic adjustment concerned the occurrence of voiced velar stops and nasals. Bosma proposed an adjustment for the voiced velar stops when occurring before lateral or trill continuants. Thus, in the word /glimai/ 'five', the Holo people had always represented the velar stop with what they called a 'g bar' or ḡ, and spelled it ḡlimai. The same would hold for /gromno/ 'darkness', spelled as ḡromno. Bosma proposed doing away with the 'g bar' representation in these environments, because even though /g/ and /ɣ/ phonemically contrast, the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ never occurs before /l/ or /r/, and thus the contrast is neutralized. Representing this /g/ sound simply as 'g' would in Bosma's proposal provide for (1) ease of typing for the local folk, and (2) ease of transfer to English, the national language, which has no diactrics. Regarding ease of typing, the 'g bar' required: (1) typing the 'g'; (2) backspacing; (3) rolling the platen up one half turn; (4) hitting the shift key; (5) striking the underline key; and, (6) rolling down the platen one half turn before proceeding to the next letter. Bosma reasoned that the people would embrace one step, typing the 'g', rather than six steps. Also, he felt that few people would modify their typewriters to make typing easier.

Bosma's same idea held for the representation of voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ and voiceless velar nasal /ŋ̊/. Considering the identical process surrounding the typewriter production of 'g bar', he felt that the /ŋ/ could be represented as 'ng' rather than as n̄, or 'n bar'. Unlike /g/, the /ŋ/ occurs in non-predictable environments. The use of 'ng' would also make for a smoother transition for new readers in English than n̄. Following the same pattern as other voiceless nasals, the /ŋ̊/ would be written as 'hng'.

Neither the voiceless prenasalization of voiced stops or velars were identified by Bosma or White, and thus were never represented in their orthographies. The sound, however, was identified with native speakers as being emically present.[5]

In order to help implement the extensive orthographical changes, Bosma asked for the assistance of Dr. Ernest W. Lee of SIL, a noted phonologist who had worked extensively in Northern Roglai, an Austronesian language

[5]Discussed in Boswell (1999). As noted in that paper, the question remains as to whether or not these are consonant clusters or underlying phonemes. More data will be gathered and analysed on the next field trip to Santa Isabel.

of Vietnam which has a sound system very similar to Holo. Lee responded by going to Jejevo village, located at the heart of the Cheke Holo language group in Cenral Maringe district, and conducting a workshop on the theme of "How to Spell the Language". Lee tried to demonstrate how changing the orthography to account for the data in the way that Bosma suggested would be beneficial to the people in terms of ease of writing and reproduction of reading materials.[6]

Bosma's major effort at demonstrating and promoting the new orthography was the publication of the book, *Life in our village: short stories from Nareabu, Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands* (1981b). He also produced a spelling survey of Isabel languages in which he presented his proposed orthography, and early Bible translation materials were circulated with the changes. A few years later, Geoffrey White (White et al. 1988) prepared to publish his dictionary in this new orthography as outlined below. Phonemes that are affected by the revised orthography are marked by an asterisk before the phoneme.

	Consonantal phoneme	Historical representation	Linguist suggested representation
	p	p	p
	p^h	ph	ph
	t	t	t
	t^h	th	th
	k	k	k
	k^h	kh	kh
*	ʔ	Ø(null)	'
	b	b	b
	d	d	d
*	g	ḡ	g
	^{m}b	bh	(nil—sound not identified)
	^{ŋ}g	gh	(nil—sound not identified)
	ʧ	ch	ch
	ʤ	j	j
	f	f	f
	s	s	s
	v	v	v

[6]I do note that in the end, we can say that the familiarity of the local people with their writing system carries more weight than making a case for phonemic consistency. However, Bosma did try to introduce a system that, though different, would hopefully prove to be more "user friendly", and eventually become more familiar to them after time.

	z	z	z
*	ɣ	g	gh
*	x	gh	hgh
	h	h	h
	m	m	m
*	m̥	mh	hm
	n	n	n
*	n̥	nh	hn
*	ŋ	n̄	ng
*	ŋ̊	n̄h	hng
	ñ	gn	gn
*	ñ̊	gnh	hgn
	l	l	l
*	l̥	lh	hl
	r	r	r
*	r̥	rh	hr

Retreat to tradition

Despite Bosma and White's best efforts at promoting the new orthography, the Cheke Holo speakers were not satisfied. Lee's studied approach was not accepted.[7] They felt that the early orthographic rendering of their language was sufficient, and should not be modified. After all, if they could read and write in their orthography, why change it and try to learn a new system?[8]

Bosma noticed that the Bible translators with whom he was working kept the original spelling, and so did the people when writing and corresponding in the language. He did not have enough momentum, despite the best efforts of outside help such as Dr. Ernie Lee, to change the system. Bosma

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[7]Lee was successful in showing the people the benefit of representing the glottal stop, whereas before it was only represented when contrast was noted between two words. He introduced the apostrophe to represent this sound. An example of minimal contrast is shown in this example: /biʔo/ 'big' spelled *bi'o*, and /bio/ 'nautilus shell', spelled *bio*. Lee proposed the apostrophe upon noting its widespread acceptance on Malaita and Makira.

[8]English speakers have also resisted spelling reform, though it can easily be demonstrated that: (1) a more phonemic-based writing system would better represent the sounds of words, and (2) children and foreigners would more easily acquire the language. Nonetheless, change is strongly resisted and various attempts have proven very difficult for those who have already acquired fluency in the existing system.

was able to notify White, who was in Hawaii preparing his dictionary with the new orthography, that their efforts had indeed been rejected. White made the necessary changes to conform to the old orthography.

Whereas 'g bar' and 'n bar' could be represented on a standard typewriter, albeit the process was quite cumbersome as noted above, in printed materials the italic *g* and *n* were used. This was due to the inability of the Solomons typesetter to represent the bar.[9]

Bosma (1999) noted that besides local rejection, he also later discovered a pattern in the language that went against his suggested spelling. The fricative ɣ, when 'strengthened' (as generally defined by not having the 'puff of air' preceding the consonant) becomes the 'strong g sound' when marked with the [h]. He proposed that strong consonants (as the people understood them to be strong) be marked with the h following rather than preceding the consonant, which is the pattern of representation for 'non-strengthened', or voiceless consonantal counterparts. But in this case the orthographic symbol gh was intended by Bosma to be the fricative ɣ, which was not the strengthened sound. Examples of contrast in the language where this is a factor include /ɣoɽa/ 'to paddle' and /goɽa/ 'a paddle'. Thus, the desired representation of /goɽa/ as gohra 'a paddle' was not discernible because the people were confused as to whether or not the first sound was strengthened.[10]

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[9]Indeed, years later while I was struggling to learn how to take advantage of new software tools which displayed this diacritic and in turn incorporate the ḡ and n̄ into translated materials, the translation committee chairman told me to "just use the slant [i.e., italic]; we can read that". I felt that this approach was inadequate, because people wrote with a bar over the consonant, and did not write in italics. Thus, I tried until I succeeded to incorporate the appropriate diacritics. The chairman did not prefer the italicized form, but was merely trying to lighten my workload of deciphering the new software. It is interesting to note, though, that when he thought of a consonant with a bar on the top, he thought of an italicized letter. Also, the typesetter only used this character, g. I do not know if he had access to the IPA symbol ɡ, which could have been distinguished from the font 'g' (similar to this New Times Roman font) on the printed paper, but I have doubts on whether or not the people would have made the distinction any more than English speakers would between those two symbols in reading.

[10]Bosma (1999) noted that this approach did suit nearby Bughotu language, which he was also assigned to advise concerning linguistic description and translation work. His original reasoning was that if it worked for a neighboring language that was similar, hopefully it would work for Cheke Holo. But the exception noted here proved to be a major factor contributing to the lack of acceptance. By comparing the representations on the orthographic charts for the consonantal phonemes g, ɣ, and x, one can see the dilemma that arose.

Bosma acceded to the wishes of the people and the local translators and he encouraged publication with the long-standing orthography.[11] All books published in the language since then have used the original orthography. These volumes include White's dictionary (White et al. 1988), children's Bible story books (Piaso 1992a, 1992b), a book of stories published by the National Literacy Committee (Boswell 1991), pre-reading books (Boswell 1991a, 1991b), and the New Testament (Cheke Holo Translation Committee 1993).

Currently, people use the bar in letter writing and story writing, but it should be noted that use of the bar is not always accurate. For example, a bar might occur in the 'gn' orthographic sequence, and this reflects total lack of understanding of the use of the bar to represent [g], written incorrectly as *noḡna, rather than nogna. Occasionally a bar is omitted over an 'n' such as in *ranhini when the 'n' in the text should represent [ŋ] rather than [n], and be written as rañhini. Or one might occasionally see an 'h' occur on the wrong side of the stop, such as *nahma instead of namhã̃ Nevertheless, tradition has won out over linguistic analysis, concerns for producing literacy materials on a manual typewriter, and assisting people with the literacy transfer to English from Cheke Holo.

Conclusion: Lessons learned

My summation is that Bosma followed a community-participative procedure in the final decisions of this attempt at orthography revision. His descriptive linguistic analysis gave him an understanding of the language that was foundational to his interaction with the local people in the decision-making process concerning proposed spelling changes. He wanted buy-in on a large scale, yet neither he nor White wanted to promote an orthography that would not be used.

Despite his lack of success in achieving his desired results, namely that of a consistent orthographic representation of the language, his model of engaging the community in such decisions is well noted. He functioned as an advisor to the language group, rather than as an unyielding expert. Linguists who are working to build capacity among vernacular language groups in the construction and use of practical alphabets would be wise to heed this approach.

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[11]The day we arrived in Nareabu village in April 1989, I was handed a reviewer's copy of the Gospel of John, and it was produced in the original orthography. Bosma had been serving as the translation advisor, and had helped the team to bring the Gospel of John to this pre-publication stage. He and his family left the Solomons in 1987.

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Avoiding Tone Marks: A Remnant of English Education?

Mike Cahill

Mike Cahill and his wife, Ginia, served with SIL and GILLBT in Ghana from 1983-1993, working with the Koma people (Kɔnni language). Mike has served as SIL's International Linguistics Coordinator since January, 1999. He received an M.A. in linguistics from University of Texas at Arlington, and a doctorate in linguistics from Ohio State University.

Introduction

This article is the result of research prompted by the author's struggles with how or if tone should be marked in a language which has never had an orthography.[1] Though the language group involved, Kɔnni, is quite small, the author believes the issues involved are applicable to all languages in Ghana.

This article will show that tone is phonemic in Ghanaian languages, but it is largely underrepresented in orthographies. My contention is that the basic reason for this is that alphabet-makers in Ghana, past and present, have been used to the English alphabet, which has no tone marks. Technical reasons for not marking tone are also discussed, and criteria for deciding whether tone marking is needed are examined.

In the discussion below, curly brackets { } are used to enclose orthographic symbols (letters of the alphabet), while slashes // enclose phonemes, and square brackets [ ] enclose phonetic representations.

---

[1]This article was originally written in 1993, when I was still in the beginning stages of developing an orthography for Kɔnni in Ghana, and so the target audience was workers in Ghanaian languages, as will become obvious. More has come out on testing tone markings in orthographies since then, notably Steven Bird's (1999) study. I have only lightly edited this article, and still maintain most of the positions expressed here, though I would write it less polemically now.

Tone is phonemic but largely unwritten in Ghanaian languages

One of the starting assumptions of a sound orthography is that each phoneme should be represented by its own symbol. A phoneme is OVERDIFFERENTIATED when more than one symbol is used to represent it. This is the case for the letters {d} and {r} in several Ghanaian languages, for example, Hanga, Kusaal, and Dagaari, to mention just a few. In these languages, [r] can be shown to be a manifestation of an underlying /d/, but social and other factors favor the use of both {d} and {r}. Overdifferentiation generally presents few problems for readers.

On the other hand, UNDERDIFFERENTIATION occurs when two or more phonemes are represented by a single symbol, or a phoneme is not represented at all in the orthography. For example, in Akan orthography no distinction is made between oral and nasalized vowels, though the difference is crucial in distinguishing some words. Underdifferentiation creates ambiguities in written forms and has the potential to cause serious problems for readers, to the point of even making a text undecodeable.

Now then, "a sound is considered phonemic...if its substitution in a word does cause a change in meaning" (Crystal 1985:228). In Ghanaian languages, tones are phonemic as much as any vowel or consonant; to change the tone of a word can change the meaning or make it into nonsense. It is common to talk of LEXICAL TONE, which changes the meanings of individual words, and GRAMMATICAL TONE, which changes the meaning of a larger utterance. Illustrations of each are given below.

Lexical tone (Kɔnni)	
a. [dàáŋ]	stick, wood
b. [dááŋ]	*akpetishie* drink
c. {da daa daaŋ}	Don't buy(??)! (ambiguous)
Grammatical tone (Anufɔ)	
a. [i kó]	he goes (habitual)
b. [i kò]	he will go (future)

Of the thirty-one Ghanaian languages for which the author has orthographic information, twenty-one do not mark tone at all in their orthographies, nine mark grammatical tone, and four mark tone to differentiate minimal pairs (see the appendix).

Why not?

There are two basic reasons for not marking tone in Ghanaian languages. One is technical; the other is attitudinal. The attitudinal problem has caused a paralysis of action to solve the technical problem and is, therefore, the more serious and basic of the two.

The basis of the attitudinal problem is, simply, that Ghanaian languages are not like English. By and large, the people in a position to formulate orthographies for Ghanaian languages have either been native English speakers or Ghanaians highly educated by means of the English language. Either way, these people (the author included!) view the English alphabet as the "normal" way to go about the task. By the time they have graduated from university, or even secondary school, Ghanaians have read much more in English than in any Ghanaian language. They are not trained to think in terms of tones but only consonants and vowels. They have adapted their reading strategies to fit the English alphabet. Thus, the natural inclination is to favor alphabets which are as much like English as possible. Of course, the outsider, the native English speaker, does the same.

This tendency affects decisions about non-English symbols like {ʊ} and {ŋ}, but reaches a maximum when it comes to putting "those funny-looking marks all over the page." Diacritics have been eradicated from modern-day English, and we are reluctant to reintroduce them elsewhere.

Thus far, the discussion has been concerned with the visual aspects of marking tone. But, many non-Ghanaian expatriates in the past have had a basic uneasiness with the whole concept of tone itself.

> A missionary candidate and his wife once admitted that, when they learned that the language of their African field was a tone language, they seriously questioned whether the Lord had actually called them to missionary service....A shocking number of people concerned with African languages still seem to think of tone as a species of esoteric, inscrutable, and unfortunate accretion characteristic of underprivileged languages—a sort of cancerous malignancy afflicting an otherwise normal linguistic organism. Since there is thought to be no cure—or even reliable diagnosis—for this regrettable malady, the usual treatment is to ignore it, in hope that it will go away of itself. With a more optimistic determination, one group of language learners in Africa asked a trained linguist to come and try to "get rid of tone" in the local language (Welmers 1973:77).

Interestingly, Awedoba (1991:37), in a thorough survey of tone needs in Kasem orthography, lists "the European (Anglo-French) legacy" first among factors to explain why tone has not been written in traditional Kasem orthographies.

Thus, the underlying reason for a reluctance to mark tone comes from the fact that those in the decision-making process have been prejudiced in favor of English sounds and symbols. Reinforcing this prejudice is the fact that the most widespread language group of Ghana, Akan, does not mark tone at all.

It is true that there are technical difficulties involved as well. These should not be minimized, but they should be seen in light of the total picture of devising an orthography. These technical linguistic problems are nicely summed up as follows, as applied to the Hanga language. "It is not proposed to write tone. There are very few words distinguished by tone alone, moreover construction tone often overrides lexical tone or perturbations modify the basic tone, making tone difficult to mark" (Hunt 1981:42).

I interpret the above as saying:

1) Tone distinguishes few words and therefore has a low *functional load.* Few ambiguities will result from not marking tone.
2) The underlying tone of a word can be overridden by grammatical tone (Hunt's "construction tone").
3) The underlying tone (or presumably even the grammatical tone) can be modified by various perturbations.
4) Therefore, it is hard to decide how to mark tone!

These will be addressed below one at a time.

The fact that tone may distinguish few words is not *in and of itself* a valid reason for excluding it from the orthography. In Kɔnni, the phonemes /v/ and /f/ distinguish very few words. But unlike tone, {v} and {f} are familiar species, and we take it for granted they should both be included. The term "functional load" is one that is used quite often but with no specific definition. There is more to it than just minimal pairs, however, tonal or otherwise, and this will be discussed more fully in the next section.

Next, the presence of grammatical tone actually *simplifies* the task of tone marking. The grammatical tone gives the meaning of the utterance and would definitely be marked in preference to an underlying lexical tone. In addition, the grammatical tone would be easier to discover than some of the underlying lexical tones in a language.

Perhaps a slight diversion is appropriate at this point to make clear the phonological model that underlies this discussion. From the thought to the

actual speech, we can symbolize the production of speech very generally as follows:

LEXICON	Words are stored here, together with underlying lexical tones. Grammatical tones, if present, cancel lexical tones at this level.
PHONOLOGICAL RULES	These rules act to modify or "perturb" the tones that come out of the lexicon.
PHONETIC RULES	These are the rules that give the final detailed phonetic pronunciation to the utterance.

As for the third problem, the perturbations that come from various rule applications are of more concern than grammatical tone substitutions. For example, in Kɔnni, we have:

[hɔ̀gú]	woman, wife
[ŋwó hɔ́gú]	I don't have a wife.

For the word /hɔgu/ in the second case, would the underlying lexical tone LH be marked, or the surface tone ꜜHH? The problem of which level to represent in orthography is not unique to tone; in particular, vowels in Ghanaian languages exhibit even greater variation! For example, the Kɔnni /ɪ/ can vary as follows:

[yɪ ba]	give them	[yʊ wa]	give him
[tasɪka]	the headpan	[tasɨŋ]	headpan

Here the phoneme /ɪ/ has three distinct allophones: /ɪ, ʊ, ɨ/. The problem we face in orthography here is a familiar one: do we write morphophonemically, phonemically, phonetically, or what? The problem does not always yield simple answers, but it is one we have faced and have found some solutions for.

Why have we not done the same with tone? Besides all the attitudinal factors above, there is the technical problem of tone analysis. It can be difficult to determine what the lexical tone on a word is, especially if one's linguistic training has not emphasized tonal analysis. But autosegmental phonology and other developments offer new hope in analyzing tone, and we are in a better position today to deal with tonal problems than ever before.

Considerations for decisions on tone marking

From the purely linguistic point of view, there would seem to be no reason not to mark tone in a language in which it has been identified as phonemic. However, the decision to mark or not to mark must take several other factors into account. There are at least the following factors.

1) Linguistic: is there a phonemic contrast?
2) Psycholinguistic: how important is the contrast (functional load)?
3) Sociolinguistic: do the users want it?
4) Practical: can you print it or type it?
5) Official: what government policies exist?

The linguistic factor above has been discussed; let us turn to the other factors, in reverse order.

If the government has a policy prohibiting tone marks, that will negate all the other factors. In the past, the Bureau of Ghana Languages had such a prohibition, which is the reason Konkomba, Kusaal, and others that had SIL work done at that time marked no tone, and they still don't. The report of the Ghanaian Language Alphabet Standardization Committee which met last year [1992] advises tone marks "should be used sparingly" but does acknowledge the need for them. At this point in Ghana, linguists are free to pursue the subject.

On the practical side, while those who are blessed with computers can print almost anything they want (when the things are working right!), most standard English typewriters do not have { ´ ` } tone marks. For printing when a computer is not available, tone marks may often have to be added by hand. This is a barrier, but not an insurmountable one.

The sociolinguistic factor must also be considered. If the goal is to get people to read, an unpopular orthography would not help. Sometimes the influence of the educated ones (again, influenced by an education in English) can be enough to turn opinion against a linguistically sound orthography. Sometimes the people as a whole pr[illegible]r their printed page to "look like Twi" or "look like English", or "**not** look like Gonja". The users' opinions must be taken into account.

Perhaps the most neglected area is the psycholinguistic one, and the rest of this section will deal with this. Given that there is a phonological contrast, is it important enough to be symbolized? Is the functional load of the phoneme high enough to warrant a place in the orthography?

No one has yet come up with a simple way to precisely measure the functional load of a phoneme or even rank it against other phonemes. Powlison

(1968) made an attempt, but his criteria are really unworkable and were severely criticized by Gudschinsky (1970). Unseth and Unseth (1991) have approached the whole subject from a complementary viewpoint, that of ambiguity, which seems to be a much more fruitful approach.

Functional load is difficult to quantify, because there are two components to consider: one which we can call LINGUISTIC FUNCTIONAL LOAD, which is purely mechanical, and the other **BEING PSYCHOLINGUISTIC FUNCTIONAL LOAD**, which is psychological.

Linguistic functional load considers how many phonemes contrast with the phoneme in question, how frequently it is used in words, and its predictability, both within words and (harder to measure) within texts. It can be assessed with a dictionary and a variety of texts. For example, the more frequent the use, the higher the functional load; the more predictable the phoneme is, the lower its functional load. Powlison deals exclusively with this concept.

Psycholinguistic functional load, on the other hand, is the relative weight a real live speaker or reader gives a phoneme in determining the meaning of what he hears or reads. In a given word, there may be several features that cue the reader to its identity, but they are not all weighed equally.

For example, in Mazatec, a tonal language of Mexico, there are phonemically sixteen consonants, eight vowels, and four tones. If the linguistic functional load is considered, both consonants and vowels should have a higher functional load than tone, because there are more contrasts within those systems. However, Mazatecs can carry on extended conversations just by whistling, with tone carrying **all** the information, and an alphabet which does not mark tone is totally incomprehensible (Gudschinsky 1970).

In contrast to linguistic functional load, psycholinguistic functional load cannot be mechanically measured but must be tested by observation of live readers. It is often asserted that "ambiguities will be resolved by context." This claim may or may not be true, depending on the language, but it needs to be tested in any case. In the Kɔnni examples given earlier, it is not likely that "*akpeteshie* drink" and "wood" would have uses similar enough to be confused in context, but it may be possible. Furthermore, the beginning reader, slowly working his way through a paragraph, will not have the strategies of a more experienced reader to disambiguate words. Instead of confident armchair assertions, careful on-the-field testing and observations are needed.

Bauernschmidt (1980) writes about the need to assess the functional load of phonemes, including suprasegmental ones like tone, since it is "usually not necessary for every feature which is phonologically contrastive to be

symbolized. A decision to underdifferentiate contrasts must be made carefully and on the basis of testing rather than on hunches or personal prejudice. In the early stages of the literacy program it is safer to symbolize more of the contrasts and err on the side of redundancy than to underdifferentiate and later have to add more symbols. It is a less painful experience for all concerned (including the linguist) to subtract rather than add symbols" (1980:14).

It is important to be especially careful to give the reader every cue he needs, even to the point of redundancy, not only in "the early stages of the literacy program", but also in the early stages of reading for an individual. Mugele (1978) makes the point that fluent readers can make good predictions about a text, not even needing to process every symbol, but beginning readers need every bit of information that will help him find the meaning. A "simpler" orthography is not necessarily easier for the beginner! He concludes, "It is much easier for the fluent reader to ignore data that he no longer needs than it is for the beginner to guess at the meaning of a word for lack of data that would have given him the means to identify the exact word" (1978:24).

Conclusion

This article has asserted that decision-makers' training and background in English has been a major underlying cause for not dealing adequately with the marking of tone in Ghanaian languages. In addition, a great amount of inertia exists because of not marking tone in the past. Finally, linguistic difficulties, though present and not trivial, can be faced and overcome.

In conclusion, the author has two recommendations for those who may be in a decision-making role for orthographies. First, assuming an adequate linguistic analysis is available, err on the side of more tone marking rather than less. In rural Ghana, most people will probably not have more than a few years of schooling. They will be classed more as "beginning readers" than fluent ones. If the goal is mass literacy, then one must cater to the circumstances of the majority. Therefore, more redundant features should be supplied to them on the printed page. If it becomes apparent that the marks are not needed, they can be deleted. (It may even be possible to have an orthography that marks tone more fully in the primer and early reader materials, but drops it in more advanced material.)

Second, careful field testing should be done, comparing not marking tone with different ways of marking tone. This should be done both with beginning readers and readers fluent in the language being tested, if possible. (This assumes the teaching of tone marking is done in an effective way,

also.) One of the most thorough examples of this is by Mfonyam (1991), who dealt with a very complex tonal system in Cameroon.

It is possible that testing will suggest that for many languages in Ghana, tone marking would not improve the orthography. The author doubts that this would be the case. But if it is, at least the linguist will have the satisfaction of knowing his orthography is based on sound data, and that he has not given in to "our lazy preference for not symbolizing those elements of the language which are difficult for us to hear or difficult for us to analyze" (Gudchinsky 1970:23).

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APPENDIX: How Ghanaian Languages Mark Tone[2]

LANGUAGE	None	Grammatical	Minimal pairs
Akan dialects:			
Akuapem	x		
Asante	x		
Fante	x		
Anufo		x	
Bimoba	x		
Birifor	x		
Buli	x		
Dagaare	x		
Dagbani	x		
Dɛg		x	
Delo	x		
Ewe		x	x
Frafra	x		
Ga	x		
Gikyode		1	
Gidɪrɛ (Adele)		x	
Gonja	x		
Hanga	x		
Kasem[3]	x	x	
Konkomba	x		
Kusaal	x		
Lɛlɛmi		x	x
Mampruli	x		
Nafaanra	x		
Nawuri	x		
Nchumburuŋ		1	
Sisaala (Pasaale)			1
Sisaala (Tumulung)			x
Tampulma	x		
Vagla		x	
Wali	x		
TOTALS	21	9	4

[2]These are accurate as of 1993.

[3]Kasem has more than one orthography in current use.

Notes on Literacy 27.1: 23–31.

Nontraditional Education among the Iranun, a Malaysian Ethnic Minority

Karla Smith

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Background

The Iranun people of Sabah, Malaysia live mainly in the Kota Belud District on the West Coast, although Iranun is also spoken in a few villages in the Lahad Datu area in southeastern Sabah. Iranun is an Austronesian language and a distinct member of the Danao sub-family. This sub-family consists of Maranao, Maguindanaon, Ilanon of Ilaya Bay, in Mindanao, Philippines, and the Iranun of Sabah, Malaysia. Estimates indicate there are some 12–15,000 Iranun speakers in Sabah. The Iranun are Muslims. According to the encyclopedia of Malaysia, the Iranun (also known as Illanun, Lanun or some close variation of the name) have been in Sabah for more than 360 years. According to their oral history, some Iranun were in the area before that time. The name Iranun, preferred by the Sabah Iranun, means 'longing for a certain place' and conveys their love for their homeland.

Many Iranun live on the coast and earn their living from the sea. They are the main suppliers of fish for the surrounding communities and the fish market in Kota Belud. Others who live further inland have adopted an agricultural lifestyle, cultivating rice and vegetables for their own consumption and for selling in the local market.

Language and culture problems identified by the Iranun

Some Iranun leaders express concern about the gradual loss of their culture and language as Iranun communities are increasingly influenced by the wider society. Given the experience of other communities, the leaders' concern that their language may die out does not seem unreasonable. Paulston points out that "Maintained group bilingualism is unusual. The norm for groups in prolonged contact within one nation is for the subordinate

group to shift to the language of the dominant group, either over several hundred years...or over the span of three generations." (1985:121)

According to the leaders, the younger generation is losing contact with their own culture and history. Some of the traditional Iranun cultural items and practices have been credited to other larger groups around them because they have been adopted or used by these groups. Iranun history, oral literature, and traditions have not been put into written form, so as the older generation dies, their heritage is being lost. At the same time, as the younger generation is schooled in the national language, their use of their ethnic language is declining. Although many of the children are supposedly bilingual, they demonstrate fluent control neither of Iranun nor of the national language, Malay. These problems are not unique to the Iranun, as many people groups in Sabah and, indeed, around the world, are faced with similar situations.

The Kadazandusun, the largest minority group in Sabah, have faced these problems. SIL started working in their language in 1983.[1] Since then a few of their members have gone for linguistic training and, among other establishments, they have a language foundation. The director and two of the women on staff have SIL training. In the last five years the Kadazandusun have been working actively not only to promote their language, but have succeeded in getting Government approval to have their language taught in the schools. This was started at the 4th year level in the primary school and is being moved to higher grades through the succeeding years.

A government official (an Iranun) saw and felt for himself the concerns of his people. In 1995, he invited Institut Linguistik SIL to work with his people. Many books and technical papers written by SIL members have been published by, and can be found in the Sabah State Museum.

First steps

Dr. Howard P. McKaughan, a respected linguist and SIL consultant who had formerly worked in and completed many years of research on the Maranao[2] language, made his first trip to Sabah in 1996. He was able to take stories that had been recorded and transcribed by one of the Iranun men

[1] John and Carolyn Miller began language learning among the Coastal Kadazan in 1983. They wrote papers, held workshops, helped with language standardization, translation and were involved in other language development actitivities in the project throughout 1990.

[2] The Maranao language is a member of the same language family as the Iranun. Professor McKaughan, Professor Emeritus University of Hawaii, has authored many publications, including co-authoring a dictionary in this language. Besides being a former Professor and Dean at the University of Hawaii, he has worked in Mexico, Thailand, Philippines, and Malaysia.

back home with him to begin his language analysis. He returned each year for two months and by mid-1999 had completed a preliminary phonological description of Iranun and a description of the grammatical structure of this language.

In 1998 my husband and I were asked to work with the Iranun. One of our first requests was for them to form an advisory committee, representing all the Iranun villages, that would direct our joint efforts. They agreed to form the advisory committee, with elected executive positions, and proceeded to define four geographic areas which encompassed all the Iranun villages. The chairman and co-chairman of the advisory committee then had meetings in each geographic area and an executive committee was elected for each one. Working committees, each overseen by the area executive committee, were formed for tasks such as: (1) collecting oral history and traditional stories, (2) learning to use computers for literature production, and (3) developing vernacular literature.

Orthography seminar

In November 1998 SIL consultants held an orthography seminar for the Iranun community. Dr. Dennis Malone, SIL International Literacy Consultant, presented general orthography principles, after which my husband and I showed how these principles applied specifically to the Iranun language. The proposed orthography was based on the linguistic analysis and preliminary phonological description previously done by Dr. McKaughan, supplemented by further study and many discussions we had with the people.

Training for writers

With a proposed orthography in place, the Iranun were now ready to write more of their oral literature. My husband and I worked with the committees to hold a three-part writers' workshop to train beginning writers. More than sixty people attended the first two sessions in 1999. These were people ranging in age from 18–45. The majority were under 30 and were educated in Malay, the national language. For the third session we divided the group into two, according to geographical areas so the numbers would be smaller.

In the first workshop they wrote personal experience stories and traditional stories of their choice. We did not tell them how to spell or where to put word breaks. We wanted to see how they would intuitively do those things. While some were fairly good at spelling words with sounds not in Malay, most were not, and all were inconsistent in spelling and word breaks.

The second workshop was devoted primarily to teaching and practicing editing. As a group we discussed the correlation between the sounds of their language and the way the language is written. For the young people, the challenge was to identify the words and grammar in their mother tongue rather than resorting to more familiar Malay forms. They all found that editing is hard, tedious work, but that did not deter them.

Before beginning the third workshop, a mini two-day workshop was held. We requested that the chairman and co-chairman of the advisory comittee find older people, whether literate or not, who could help with editing the stories to make them sound more natural and follow the Iranun language structure. Each group had three or four older people and one of the workshop participants who would read the stories and make corrections as discussed by the older folk. During this workshop, the participants illustrated their books and prepared them for publication. Some of the more advanced computer students entered corrections, scanned in pictures, and printed the 67 booklets.

Computer training

When considering mother-tongue literature production careful consideration must be given to selecting a production method that is appropriate to the local context. As the country becomes increasingly sophisticated electronically, books written by hand or on typewriter and printed on silk screen printers would not be acceptable. The use of computers to support local literature production seemed to be appropriate in this situation. Although many Iranun had not previously seen or used a computer, the leaders were quick to recognize the value of computer training for their people. They realized it would not just be important for literature production, but would also give the young people a useful skill to help them in the workplace. Computer committees were formed in each of the four geographic areas and classes held in three of these areas. Ten of the participants completed the basic word processing course and are ready to move on to the advanced course. Other classes for using a software publishing program are in process. During the recent writers workshops these computer trainees were responsible for entering the handwritten stories into the computers. They plan to continue producing booklets in their language, and also bilingual booklets in Iranun and Malay. Eventually we hope there will be compilations of these stories into trilingual books: Iranun, Malay, and English.

The long-term plan among the Iranun is to have a community-owned "learning center" in each area. The recently-constructed buildings are a beginning toward that end. These centers will not only be used for computer classes, but for other language development activities. Seven '486' computers have been given from the Canadian International Development

Agency (CIDA), and these are divided among the areas. The computer students who have achieved the necessary skill and ability to teach others will staff these learning centers. This transfer of technology will enable them to participate more fully in a modern Malaysia.

This is similar to what was described in an article by Bernard on "Preserving Language Diversity: Computers can be a Tool for Making the Survival of Languages Possible" (1992). The author says that "Computers can help preserve both vanishing native languages and language diversity" (p. 15). He tells about the Native Literacy Center that was established in 1987 in Mexico "to enable Indian people to learn to read and write and publish books in their own languages using computers" (p. 16). Later, five African men were trained by the author to use the computer to write in their mother tongue.

Language and education issues

A concern expressed by many Iranun parents is that their children are not doing well in school, and so are unable to go on to higher education or to find good jobs. Formal education was introduced into the area in the early 1960s, first in English and later in Malay. Both these languages are foreign to the Iranun, but Malay, being an Austronesian language, is easier for them to learn. Many parents today try to support their children's education by speaking Malay to them at home. However, since the parents themselves do not have a high level of Malay, the children are still not gaining the standard of Malay they will need for formal education and are losing their mother tongue.

The school situation experienced by the Iranun was described by Lambert (1975) when he distinguished between what he labeled "additive" and "subtractive" bilingualism.

In a subtractive bilingual setting, such as that experienced by the Iranun children, students are expected to acquire the official or school language (which they do not speak well when they enter school), but their L1 is not used as a means for helping them learn. The result usually is that, as the learning requirements become more complex, the children tend to do poorly, especially in comparison to the children who speak the school language as their L1. In addition, the minority language children gradually lose their ability to speak and understand their mother tongue.

In an additive bilingual context, on the other hand, children begin learning a second language as they continue to develop cognitively and linguistically in their L1. The dual process is not educationally harmful because, as stated by Cummins (1980), the languages a person knows have different

surface features, but only one underlying central operating system in the brain. The cognitive skills they acquire in their mother tongue can thus be used in the L2 (and other languages as well) once the structure and vocabulary of the new languages are known. According to the evidence, additive bilingual education programs, especially those that continue to use the children's L1 in the classroom through their primary years, appear to increase minority language learners' ability to become active and successful learners. For example, Thomas and Collier (1997:14) found that "only those groups of 'language minority students' who have received strong cognitive and academic development through their first language for many years, at least through Grade 5 or 6, as well as through the second language are doing well in school as they reach the last of the high school years".

According to Thomas and Collier (1997:15), the most important factor and the predictor of long-term school success is "cognitively complex on-grade-level academic instruction through students' first language for as long as possible (at least through year 5 or 6) and cognitively complex on-grade-level academic instruction through the second language for part of the school day". As the Thomas and Collier study demonstrates, minority language students' ability to achieve long term academic success is greatly enhanced by the use of their mother tongue for as long as possible. The deeper a student's level of cognitive and academic development in the first language, the better he or she will progress in the second language as these skills transfer readily. The benefits of additive bilingual education programs have been noted. Innovative ways to facilitate and greatly maximize this long term language transfer continue to be the challenge.

Meanwhile, the problems experienced by Iranun students have been noted among, and by, indigenous peoples across the world as their children struggle in school to learn an official language that is not their mother tongue. Some Iranun parents stop speaking their mother tongue to their children when they are babies, in spite of the fact that the children hear the language all around them within the community. The parents do this because they want the children to learn Malay, the language of the school. However, the Malay the parents use with their children is often a market or 'broken' variety since it is the parents' second language which they learned in the marketplace. The children thus begin with a language that is "pasar", that is, without the grammar or structure considered proper by mother-tongue speakers of Malay, the language they will be learning in school.

Upon entering school they are unable to use either their parent's mother tongue or the national language properly. Based on the evidence gathered in similar situations elsewhere, having an additive bilingual/multilingual context could dramatically improve the Iranun students' academic achievement. As it is, many Iranun perceive the current language situation

as forcing them to chose between two priorities: fostering their children's use of Malay in order to help them with their education, or speaking Iranun and supporting the preservation of their mother tongue. This is a concern for the Iranun leadership who want their people to take their proper place in Malaysian society, but also want to maintain their unique cultural and linguistic heritage. Both of these are important, as it is groups such as the Iranun that give Malaysia its rich heritage and make it an interesting multilingual, multicultural society.

Challenges ahead

The Iranun community continues to face many challenges as they strive to preserve their language and culture for future generations, and yet try to become fully fluent in Malay, their national language. Their language development efforts will need to be on-going and multi-faceted. For example, the orthography will need further testing and decisions will have to be made, especially with respect to questions raised in the early writers' workshops. Dedicated, innovative writers will need to be identified, trained, and encouraged to develop a body of mother-tongue literature that is interesting to the different groups of Iranun readers and appropriate to their reading ability. Editors must be found to test, revise, and prepare written materials for publication. Young people who have dropped out of school or failed in the school system could be motivated to become involved in promoting their language and finding a productive role in society.

A significant challenge the Iranun will face later is the expense of developing literature. So far this has been solved by a grant from the Canadian International Development Agency. However, the Iranun will need to find ways of generating funds for the long-term use of the project so that they can continue with the on-going production of materials.

Finally, the Iranun will need support and official encouragement in developing an education program that will provide children in school and adults outside of school with a two-way bridge between Iranun and Malay.[3] As they face the 21st century, effective schooling is essential if they are to compete in the marketplace which increasingly demands a higher level of education. The Iranun want to become more productive 21st century Ma-

[3]Such a program will require funds not currently available. However, research undertaken in other contexts (see Tucker (1998) and Dutcher (1982, 1995)) indicates that although there may be additional one-time start up costs, innovative programs cost about the same as that of traditional programs. Cost benefit calculations can be thought of in terms of improvements in the students' years of schooling and then the enhanced earning potential of graduates.

laysian citizens. At the same time they would like to continue to treasure their roots and cultural values even as they, and the world, move toward a global society.

Ultimate goals

Language is the soul of a people group, the expression of themselves. It gives them a sense of belonging and identity. The vision of the Iranun community is for their children to know their heritage and their language. They want their children to know their history, their traditional stories and culture. At the same time, they want their children to take their place as proud Malaysian citizens, speaking Malay fluently and able to think in both languages. With this in mind, they would like to build a bridge between Iranun and Malay starting at the preschool level. They also definitely want their children to learn English, as they see this is an international language and needed in today's society. They realize they must also build another bridge between these two languages and English.

They are hoping to establish a language foundation as a means of helping the community to better organize, oversee, and advance their language development efforts. They plan to continue working with community based committees, as this is a method of having the people involved at the grass roots level. They have asked for SIL's continued involvement in their language group. They recognize the need for training and guidance. As we work with the committees and at the grass roots, we can see the tangible effects of the people owning the project. They have taken the responsiblity for arranging meetings, for working on projects, and feel proud of themselves for their accomplishments. It will be interesting to see this project continue to develop among this people group.

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Notes on Literacy 27.1: 33–37.

Learning Well: The Socioliteracy of Some Incipient Literate Women in a Ghanaian Community

Merieta Johnson

Merieta Johnson received her Doctorate in education (curriculum and instruction) from the University of Texas at Austin in 1999. She received an M.A. during studies in early childhood education and reading at Texas Woman's University and Barnepsicologiska Institutet in Stockholm, Sweden.

Merieta was with the SIL Central America Branch from 1977–1992 and was a consultant lecturer at Mariano Galvez University, Guatemala from 1987–1992. She currently serves the International Literacy Department as an International Literacy Consultant.

The sustainability of local language literacy practice among women in minority ethnolinguistic communities is of concern to educators teaching adults. This ethnographic study[1] explores the role of the sociocultural environment in sustaining women's literacy, focusing on the ways in which neoliterate Bulsa women in Sandema, northern Ghana, use literacy in the context of their daily lives.

Located in the dry savanna area of western Africa, Sandema is a rural district of approximately 20,000 people, predominantly Bulsa. Approximately one quarter of the district's population lives in the district capital town of Sandema. The remainder lives in scattered extended-family homesteads.

The primary work of the women in Sandema district, as in all of northern Ghana and most of West Africa, is subsistence agriculture. The women are responsible for the survival of their families. Their primary source of income is the sale of excess agricultural produce; excess that is often unavailable due to frequent droughts.

A few of the district's residents, primarily men, work in the government offices, the hospital, or in educational establishments, including three residential secondary schools established in the 1980s. Other than those few men employed in the formal sector, most Sandema men migrate to southern Ghana or other countries to work. During planting season, they return to family homesteads. Traditionally, the men are not responsible for the

[1]This article is a dissertation summary.

economic welfare of their families, although they may be called on to contribute for major expenses such as hospitalization and education.

In addition to the predominantly Buli-speaking people of Sandema, the population of the town includes a few speakers of each of at least five other vernacular languages. Most of these languages do not have written materials available locally. English is the language of education and government and, therefore, of formal employment. Buli is not one of the official languages of Ghana.

Other aspects of Sandema's sociocultural environment include:

- religious groups (Protestant, Roman Catholic, Muslim, and traditional),
- women's self-help or income generating groups (many of which have grown out of literacy classes),
- primary and secondary schools (most of which were established in the 1980s, but the first one was established in 1935),
- a major market center,
- a district hospital,
- a transportation hub, and
- district and state government offices.

The investigative team, which included two Bulsa women and the author, collected data from: (1) community observations in homes, literacy classes, social events, religious practices, business environments, official environments, and interpersonal relationships, (2) a demographic survey of a small sample of women in the community, and (3) case study interviews of women who had participated in nonformal literacy classes, members of women's organizations, community leaders, and literacy program personnel. Analysis was guided by the analytical frameworks of *Heath's Ways with Words* (1983, 1986), an ethnographic study of three communities in the Piedmont area of the Carolinas in the United States, and Canieso-Doronila's (1996) *Landscapes of Literacy*, a study of literacy in a variety of Filipino socioeconomic environments. Heath's study concentrated on the social and cultural environments. Canieso-Doronila's study focused on the economic and political environments. The present study considers each of these environments.

Vernacular literacy acquisition and use among the women is influenced by the dominance of English in most literacy functions in Ghana. The data indicate that literacy uses in any language are very limited among the neoliterate Bulsa women, the most frequent use being name and numeral recognition. Names are the same in Buli and English, and numeral words as used in the market (the most frequent usage) are in English. Although letter

writing, motivated by the frequent absence of fathers, husbands, and older sons from the community, could have influenced local language literacy, it did not do so significantly. This is because men, when literate, tended to be so in English, not Buli. As a result, access to English literacy was considered to be more important than personal vernacular literacy.

The subsistence economic environment of the newly literate Bulsa women did not require literate abilities other than numeral recognition, particularly in the women's market activities. A few women reportedly kept written records of their transactions, but this was not a common practice except among schooled women.

Organized women's groups in Sandema, including on-going literacy classes, income generating groups, and religious fellowships, encouraged increased social interaction, community involvement, and individual self-esteem. All of these results are of significance to the Bulsa women. These groups, however, did not promote extension of vernacular literacy practices among the newly literate women. Instead, the tendency was to seek a woman, or even a man or child, with some schooling to carry out needed literacy tasks. This substitution was done even where a fully literate, but unschooled, woman was part of the group. In some cases a newly literate woman was shown to be more competent in literacy skills than the schooled individual.

Some newly literate individuals may retain their vernacular literacy skills over the short term. However, the findings of this study suggest that local language literacy maintenance and expansion are unlikely to become part of community life and practices in the subsistence environment as long as (1) the number of people literate in the local language is minimal and (2) the uses for vernacular literacy are limited.

The literacy program organizers (both government and NGO agencies) intended to promote the use of reading and writing among the Bulsa women by conducting literacy classes and providing a selection of local language booklets (approximately 20 titles were produced in 1998). The affective results of the classes, however, were of more importance among many of the neoliterate women than the overtly educational results.

The literacy program was a collaborative effort between the government adult education agency and the Buli Literacy Project (BLP). The intent of the program was to provide a platform for discussion of development questions, such as health and hygiene issues, improvement of farming practices, and environmental protection, as well as literacy acquisition. The classes under government supervision tended to emphasize the development discussions, while those supervised by BLP had a more traditional literacy emphasis. The BLP coordinator, a Bulsa woman, indicated that the

BLP classes were attaining their goal because more children of literacy class participants were attending school. Lack of records made it difficult to ascertain the extent of coverage of the program or level of literacy attained by the participants. Some of the women in the study reported participating in classes for up to five years, because they wanted "to learn everything".

Case studies of the women in the investigation showed that literacy acquisition enhanced the status, positive self-perception, and reciprocal relationships of neoliterate Bulsa women with other women, even when a woman did not utilize her literacy abilities. An example of a change in status for women who had participated in literacy classes was seen when they were invited by the men in their families to join in decision making about family affairs. Previously they had been excluded from family discussions.

Comparison of the women's attitudes in this study with those of the urban women of Stromquist's study in Brazil (1997) shows similarities. In each case, the women attended literacy classes for extended periods of time but made little use of their skills other than in name and numeral recognition. All felt they had access through others to literacy in the dominant language should they have need of something more than names and numerals. None of them felt they had the need or the time and energy to read or write more than they did for their personal uses. Few women felt they had reason or desire to read stories or books, although some of the women said they read the stories in their primers to their children or other women in the household so they would not forget how to read. In most instances there was no indication that the women thought that they might learn new information, ideas, or skills through reading. They each felt they had gained personal self-esteem through their classes.

Women's literacy is a complex issue in the developing world, particularly in subsistence communities. The labor required for survival falls heavily on the women. There is not much that the literacy classes can provide for these women (including the income generating activities which are so labor intensive) that can lessen the labor demands or increase the need (or time) for literacy activities. The needs of women in subsistence communities and the purposes of literacy must be a priority in planning for literacy programs. These plans should include opportunities for using literacy, as well as the need to use it.

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Notes on Literacy 27.1: 39–46.

REPORT

Training National Partners for Leadership: Priorities for Training as Capacity-Building

Susan Malone

Panel:

Melinda Awid, from the Philippines. Melinda is the Literacy Coordinator, Translation Association of the Philippines, Philippines.

Rachfri Kirihio, from Indonesia. Rachfri works with SIL in training and materials production in West Papua, Indonesia.

Cyrus Murage, from Kenya. Cyrus is Literacy Coordinator for Bible Translation and Literacy, Kenya.

Caine Ruruk, from Papua New Guinea. Caine is the Principal of the STEP Training Course, Papua New Guinea.

Moderator:

Susan Malone, from the United States. Susan has been a literacy specialist in Papua New Guinea. She is currently Asia Area Literacy Coordinator for SIL, based in Bangkok.

Question #1. ***How do you define "capacity-building" and what does training as capacity-building imply?***[1]

Cyrus

It is building the capability of an organization to do a task—to become more effective, to be sustainable, and to have a sufficient supply of the needed resources to accomplish the task. It recognizes that as an organization grows in size and responsibilities it needs to increase its capabilities in terms of management and accountability.

Capacity-building includes all aspects of the organization—its physical facilities and its ability to plan, to develop workable strategies, to implement the strategies successfully, and to evaluate progress. It focuses also on increasing the professional capabilities of the organization's

[1]Paper presented at the Asia Area Literacy Conference, Chiang Mai, Thailand, May 2000.

individual staff members and, therefore, includes working together to assess training needs, to plan the training sequence, to implement the components of the training program, and to measure the impact and effectiveness of each component.

Mel

Capacity-building is an on-going process of equipping people by motivating and encouraging them through vision-sharing and by providing them with the opportunities and the environment for critical thinking and self-awareness. The end result should be their ability to make intelligent decisions which lead to the realization of the shared vision.

Capacity-building involves:

1. Establishing and developing partner relationships
2. Sharing responsibilities and decision-making
3. Identifying and utilizing strong leadership, and strengthening leadership that is not yet strong
4. Identifying and recruiting people with the right motivation
5. Information-sharing (e.g., talking about what is happening in other programs, talking about government initiatives, etc., and, in some cases, traveling together to visit other programs)
6. Identifying specific information and skill-development needs (including funding, program management, etc.) and seeing that the needs are met
7. Training as trainer
8. Equipping the person to manage all aspects of the program:
    - Recruitment, training, and working with personnel (teachers, writers, supervisors, trainers, consultants, evaluators)
    - Materials (identifying the materials that are needed, deciding how the materials will be developed, produced, stored, distributed, used)
    - Finances (acquiring funds, disbursing funds including salaries, reporting on funds)
    - Mobilization, relating with communities, governments, other NGOs, etc.
    - Infrastructure development to ensure program sustainability

Caine

Capacity-building involves training someone to the extent that they will be prepared to make effective decisions and then will know what is needed to implement the decisions. Building capacity includes:

1. Assessing the current situation of the trainee and his/her needs (including personal, family, and community needs)
2. Assessing the current situation and needs of the participants that this trainee will be responsible for (Will the training s/he receives benefit the type of community and the environment in which s/he will be working?)

Capacity-building means providing the kind of training that prepares people to lead. When several of us (in Papua New Guinea) were formally recognized as consultants, we felt at first that the titles had little meaning. What we needed was a good training program that would not just provide us with "labels", but that would help us truly be good consultants. Capacity-building makes sure that when people are given the titles, they have the capability and confidence to handle their responsibilities.

Rachfri

Capacity-building should contribute to the effective communication of the word of God. So capacity-builders need to keep that ultimate goal in mind.

Capacity-building should promote multiplication of skills, talents, and resources. At the local level, there should be a high involvement of the local community and of like-minded NGOs, thereby fostering the community ownership of the program. The process should be fitted to the community's pace and education.

Training for capacity-building can take place through

1. Larger workshops in central locations (multiple languages). Advantages of this training are: (1) interaction between participants from different language programs, and (2) sharing of ideas among participants.
2. Smaller workshops in local communities (one language). Advantages of this training are: (1) smaller scale and therefore cheaper, (2) more village people can take part, (3) participants can get input from the community (as in getting cultural stories from the elders), and (4) the workshops help to multiply skills and develop infrastructures within the community itself, as well as among the individual participants.

An example of training for capacity-building is our two-part training workshop in Indonesia. Part one is the centralized training, in which trainees are brought to the provincial capital to attend a computer and primer construction workshop. In these centralized workshops we do a lot of mentoring of individual trainees. Participants at these workshops also come from other organizations that have requested assistance in materials development.

Focus in this first part is on:

- computer and desktop publishing skills (e.g., use of MS Publisher program, typing in text, and inserting pictures)
- writing and editing skills
- developing Shell Books for fluency and providing development information. (This component includes punctuation and basic editing skills.)

Part two is the village training. We try to get high community involvement in order to gain recognition, approval, and endorsement by the community, especially by school teachers and other community leaders. We also encourage communities to be involved in evaluating the workshops. Focus at the village workshops is on:

1. Checking and correcting the material produced in the first workshop
2. Brainstorming on stories about the community and its culture
3. Teacher training which includes the following components:
   - Modeling. Teachers model the teaching method.
   - Practice teaching. Trainee teachers teach each other using the curriculum.
   - Classroom teaching. Trainee teachers teach in an actual classroom with local students.
4. Debriefing in which trainee teachers deal with such questions as: What step did you/he/she skip? What do you think could be improved in your teaching? Etc.
5. Training in the proper teaching methods (for example, using Big Books)
6. Planning a 6-month trial program

Question #2. ***How do outsider/insider relationships promote or hinder capacity-building?***

Cyrus

Training of nationals (insiders) for capacity-building is a great idea because there are several advantages we see in the insiders doing the

tasks. They know the culture and are aware of how things work in that context. The main challenge is in finding the right people with the motivation, vision, and commitment to the task.

We need to have good screening and selection procedures. These should include:

- technical ability (competence in the different components of the program and the ability to train other people to achieve the same competence)
- acceptability to the target community (has the education, moral and spiritual standing and dedication to be acceptable to those with whom s/he will be working)

Building confidence and establishing good relationships in the process of training is vital. It calls for mentoring, being supportive, and having an attitude like Christ had with his disciples and like Paul had as he trained Timothy for the ministry.

A big element of my own training has been spiritual training. Our work involves a spiritual battle that requires spiritual training. Our STEPS training recognizes this. It includes a component for spiritual training through Bible reading, personal prayer, and regular fasting.

Both insiders and outsiders need cross-cultural training to help them understand each other in their working relationships.

Trainers need to be sensitive to the communities' needs and to ask the advice of local leaders. The goal should be to encourage the community to take ownership of their program and take responsibility for its leadership and maintenance.

Mel

The following actions and attitudes on the part of the expatriate seem to me to be essential:

- a commitment to facilitating rather than directing,
- a commitment to trust, rather than a need to control based on fear that the national will fail (leaders should be given the chance to learn from their failures),
- flexibility in decision-making, rather than following a plan and schedule rigidly,
- willingness to be a co-learner and to be vulnerable,
- willingness to listen and engage in dialogue,
- servant attitude, and
- patience.

An example of the consequences of failing to take a facilitator role from the beginning is a program that was planned by an outsider and later turned over to the national counterpart. No one takes ownership for that program.

Caine

Outsiders need to help insiders gain access to knowledge and see the big picture.

Both outsiders and insiders need to monitor progress regularly.

Outsiders can consider their role as "investing" in the insiders. They need to pay attention, provide time, and take an interest in the person, personally, as well as professionally.

Rachfri

Outsider activities that *promote* capacity-building:

- coming into the community as a friend,
- fostering relationships with local leadership (crucial in selecting potential candidates for training programs or workshops),
- building trust in the community (follow-up evaluation visits help), and
- in partnership with the insider counterpart, developing relationships within the communities and with other agencies, to make them aware that there are ways to solve their problems.

Outsider activities that *hinder* capacity-building:

- selecting people for the program without consulting local leaders,
- emphasizing educational background without evaluating the trainees' commitment,
- building dependency on outside funding (What happens when the outsider's presence is terminated?), and
- creating high hopes in the trainee that are not or cannot be met (funding, further training).

Question #3. ***How might an emphasis on training as capacity-building promote sustainability of programs?***

Cyrus

Literacy and development programs are very new to us in BTL. We feel that we cannot venture too far in this direction until we have the

capacity in place, that is, people with the skills and tools to implement these kinds of programs.

The aim should be to build a team of specialists who have the credibility and good track records that partnering agents want to see. Funding agencies that are interested in these programs are quite particular about this.

We need to define the types of people that are needed, and then we need to identify the knowledge, attitudes, and skills that they should receive through training. This will help us decide on the type of training to plan. Options might be:

- institutionalized or formal training, and
- non-institutionalized training. This might be on-the-job training and mentoring of junior staff by senior staff, or help given to new staff by those with formal training and experience. Another possibility is sending people to other organizations for specialized training.

Networking and building coalitions should be part of capacity-building in literacy-for-development programs at the community level. The goal is to help forge partnerships with organizations, NGOs, and government agencies that have better capacities and, therefore, can offer training for our local literacy workers or enable them to network and help each other on an informal basis.

Mel

For promoting development in local communities, training should focus on identifying the different community infrastructures and leadership structures that can be tapped to train trainers. What we need are people who are dynamic, pro-active, visionary, self-motivated, and spiritually controlled, and people who are open to learn from their supervisors and from those they serve.

When we train trainers, they can train others. The work progresses as people become confident in their respective roles and as local infrastructures are developed.

Caine

Training as capacity-building helps ensure that the training meets the needs of the participants and their communities. It is essential, therefore, to collect up-to-date information on the current needs of the community. An example from Papua New Guinea is one of the BTA programs in which there was a problem of suicide in the community. Having identified the problem, workshop leaders realized that there

was an urgent need to develop a course package that would address that situation. We ran an integrated workshop which was a mixture of scripture use and counseling.

Rachfri

Multilingual centralized workshops provide opportunities for capacity-building in several ways:

1. Interaction among participants from different language groups helps to motivate participants.
2. Participants from different language groups can share ideas about possible solutions to common problems and about ways to share resources.
3. Relationships are built between participants as they become aware of each other's work.
4. An infrastructure is established to help ensure that training is ongoing.
5. The larger workshop provides credibility for trainees in their own community as well as outside their community.

Summary of this discussion

The following are areas that are part of building the capacity of community people to be leaders in promoting literacy.

- Infrastructure development
- Training, mentoring
- Promoting the trainee publicly (in the community, with the government, etc.)
- Supporting his or her spiritual growth
- Allowing the partner to fail without trying to take over and "fix" the problem; encouraging them to try again
- Not insisting on their own time frame
- Building relationships first
- Promoting interaction among people doing the same work
- Being a co-learner
- Providing on-going training

Notes on Literacy 27.1:47–50.

Review

Hope, Anne and Sally Timmel. 1995, 1999. *Training for transformation: A handbook for community development workers*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications. Pp. 700 in 4 volumes.

Reviewed by Alex Dotse,
Materials Development Coordinator, GILLBT, Ghana

Paul Streeten, in his special contribution to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report 1999*, makes this observation:

> In 1990 the time had come for a broad approach to improving human well-being that would cover all aspects of human life, for all people, in both high-income and developing countries, both now and in the future. It went far beyond narrowly defined economic development to cover the full flourishing of all human choices. It emphasised the need to put people—their needs, their aspirations and their capabilities—at the center of the development effort. And the need to assert the unacceptability of any biases or discrimination, whether by class, gender, race, nationality, religion, community or generation. Human development had arrived.

It is this kind of person-centered development that these books are aiming to promote.

The first three books in this set have proved so popular since their original publication in 1984 that there have been fifteen reprints and a revision. A fourth volume was published in 1999. They are designed to assist field workers who desire to encourage the development of self-reliant creative communities and are based on the philosophy of communities taking responsibility for their own development process. Intended for use in a workshop situation, with short sections and many diagrams and illustrations, they provide stimulating material for a crosscultural training course for national literacy coordinators and supervisors, especially where participatory approaches to literacy are being explored.

Summary

Book I deals with helping local communities identify the issues that are of most concern to them and which they would like to change. It does this by

1. looking at Paolo Freire's approach to transformation,

2. explaining how to do a survey in a community to find these issues,
3. describing how to make good posters, plays, and other problem-posing materials to help a group focus on a particular problem and go through the necessary steps leading from reflection to action, and
4. discussing how to use this approach in a literacy program.

Book II focuses on group leadership skills and group dynamics by

1. providing theories and exercises for creating the conditions necessary for developing a spirit of trust and an atmosphere in which true dialogue can take place,
2. dealing with different styles of leadership and their effect on participation,
3. describing steps in making decisions and planning action, and
4. discussing what is involved in evaluation.

Book III moves from the local level to the wider context. It provides tools for analyzing how forces operating at national and international levels affect local efforts towards development. It does this by

1. providing a short history of the developmental efforts of pioneer communities and some useful tools of analysis, including an exercise challenging people to envision a new society,
2. using a model that shows the life, growth and decline of groups and projects and an outline of steps to show how to build organizations and people's movements,
3. giving practical suggestions on how to create new forms of administration and management that are consistent with the beliefs and values of democratic participation, and
4. giving guidelines for designing and holding a workshop.

Book IV focuses on new issues in development education. In five sections it covers awareness of the environment, gender issues, racism, culture, and democratic governance.

Assessment

The authors have adopted a very practical approach to development education: enabling communities to identify their own needs and to find ways of satisfying them together. I will, therefore, not hesitate to recommend this series to any entity desiring to see the development of a community. Literacy workers whose ultimate aim is a holistic development of the communities in which they work will especially benefit from this effective working manual.

The basis for my recommendation is, firstly, that the material in these books has been used effectively in church-sponsored groups in Africa since 1975. Although this is from an African context, the key issues developed are, nevertheless, universal in scope. This series can, thus, be helpful to all developing communities.

Secondly, the series adopts an adult education methodology in which there are no teachers, but rather animators or facilitators from the communities involved. With increasing awareness of the necessity of community participation if literacy work is to be effective, these books provide a very useful resource for literacy workers.

Thirdly, the structure of the books promotes their easy use. They are written for practitioners, explaining basic theory and how to put it into practice. They provide guidelines as to what is to be done at each stage and include exercises and activities for workshop participants to carry out. The aim of the books is to empower local people to identify their own problems and to find solutions to them in the context of available human and material resources with as little external influence as possible. For this reason, I consider this approach very apt for any community development program.

On the other hand I think the books have not given sufficient coverage to activities and methods that will give literacy skills to mother-tongue speakers. The focus of the books is, of course, on participatory development. Only one chapter recognizes the impact of literacy skills on the durability of development. The authors, however, oversimplify the process of teaching someone to read and write. It is most unlikely that anyone will become literate if their teachers follow only the little guidance given here. As is typical in Freirean approaches to literacy teaching, much attention is given to raising awareness of socioeconomic problems, but far less is given to helping people acquire the technical skills of reading and writing. Out of a total of nearly 700 pages in the four books, just 24 pages were devoted to the entire subject of adult education, literacy teaching, and literacy programming. This is woefully inadequate.

Admittedly, the authors have done a good work in the area of awareness raising, but I think there is much left to be done to make literacy a more solid foundation for holistic and sustainable development. They give the impression that literacy comes about almost without thinking, provided the motivation of the learner is right. It would be helpful if the authors could combine the valuable insights of the participatory approach to learning with the equally valuable perspective of literacy as a technical skill.

Conclusion

Overall, this set of books provides important background reading in community development. It is particularly useful for literacy workers who are not only eager to see people learning to read and write, but who are also aware of the importance of involving communities in their own development. As we struggle with issues of training local people to function well as facilitators in a participatory literacy class, these books may provide some encouragement. An additional benefit is that the books are also available in French and Spanish, which makes this important material accessible outside the English-speaking world.

Notes on Literacy 27.1:51–52.

In Memoriam:
Leah Bernice Ellis Walter
May 8, 1944 – May 12, 2001

The following is a reprint from a tribute written by Steve Walter, former International Literacy Coordinator, and husband of Leah.

Leah Ellis was born in Laguna Beach, California on May 8, 1944 to Orlin and Alba Ellis. Leah was the fifth of seven children, the second daughter.

After completing school in Laguna Beach, Leah attended and graduated from Biola University in 1966. It was at Biola that Leah first learned of the ministry of Bible translation from a presentation given there by George Cowan. Leah joined Wycliffe and SIL immediately after college and remained a member until her passing.

Leah's first several years were spent in Mexico assigned to the Jungle Camp Field Training Program. It was there that she developed a lifelong interest in literacy and a deep and abiding love for the Tzeltal people—a love she cherished all her life.

After marriage in 1972, and the birth of two children in 1974 and 1976, Leah spent several years in Dallas where another interest developed—teaching and training.

In 1980, Leah and Steve accepted an assignment to work in Colombia, South America. It was also in 1980 that Leah learned that something was wrong with her liver, though a full diagnosis was delayed for several years.

Eight years later, the family returned to the U. S. for an assignment in Dallas, and it was then that the seriousness of the liver condition began to become evident. Several near fatal hemorrhages occurred in the early 1990s, raising the possibility of a liver transplant. In 1995, Leah was additionally diagnosed with lymphoma, which eliminated the option of a transplant. In 1999, there was pneumonia while in Australia, and in 2000, an ugly fall resulting in a badly broken elbow. In March 2001, another fall produced a fractured pelvis.

While it may have been evident to the doctors that Leah's health situation was serious, Leah was totally determined to carry on with her life and her ministry. Only in those occasional periods of debilitating pain did she let her condition deflect her focus.

What made "Leah" Leah? What made people respond to her the way they did? Having lived with her for 29 years, I wish to relate what I observed as a memory and a tribute.

Leah was a very giving person—time, money, energy, flowers, emotion, and sympathy, whatever was needed. She had a deep empathy for people that drew others to her.

Leah knew no strangers. She made friends anywhere and everywhere and could do so, seemingly, at the drop of a hat.

Leah was a peacemaker. She would readily give up a perspective or a position on an issue in order to bring about peace and harmony. She found it easy to see and accept another's point of view. She was a quick forgiver and did not hold grudges.

Leah was intrepid. Though not a daredevil, she was rarely concerned about risk or danger to herself. She would go places many considered too dangerous or too intimidating to try. As recently as a few months ago, she was still talking about taking another overseas assignment.

A friend in Colombia liked to compare Leah to an old shoe—very comfortable to wear (or to be around), would never cause a blister (hurt or injure someone), and was faithful and reliable. People found her very easy to talk to and to get to know.

Leah was an encourager. She was quick to encourage students, trainees, and friends. She was especially good at drawing out and ministering to people who were sick, sad, discouraged, or disappointed.

Leah never took herself too seriously. She laughed readily at herself and made jokes about her mistakes.

Leah was a genuine person. She was not one way in public and another in private. She was "Leah" all the time. She was not deceptive and rarely let pride or ambition cloud her judgment or influence her behavior.

Leah smiled easily and warmly, inviting people to get to know her. She was an easy conversationalist who always found something to talk about.

In sum, it was easy to get the impression that Leah cared more about other people than she did about herself—and this was rarely far from the truth! It is hard to avoid being drawn to such a person!

This combination of gifts and characteristics made Leah a rare and very lovable person. With her passing we have all lost a special treasure! ¡Hasta que nos encontramos de nuevo en el cielo, mi amor! (Until we meet again in heaven, my love!)

Appeal for Articles

Notes on Literacy is for you and by you. We are dependent on you for articles to include in each issue. Please share your experiences with other readers. We are especially interested in:

- documentation of how something did or did not work
- case studies
- how a particularly difficult orthography problem was solved
- articles about community-based education
- book reviews
- training national partners

Guidelines for submission of articles

Please follow the instructions below when submitting an article for possible publication in *Notes on Literacy.*

1. **Submit articles in electronic format (IBM compatible), together with a hard copy, to the editor.** If you choose to send an article via e-mail, be sure it can be read in plain text format, as the editor's computer will not recognize MIME or HTML. A hard copy is needed because some items, especially charts or special characters, do not always translate well between computers. The hard copy shows how the author intended the article to appear.
2. **Include a brief biographical sketch.** This should include relevant training and degrees earned, dates of service, field(s) of service, and current title (e.g., literacy specialist, consultant, etc.). Keep it to a few sentences, please.
3. **Be sure all direct quotes (anything in quotation marks) have the proper citation in the text where they occur.** This includes the author's last name, year of publication, and page number(s). Indirect quotes (material paraphrased without quotation marks) need to include the author's last name and year of publication.
4. **Include all pertinent information in bibliography.** This includes author's first and last names, year of publication, title of book or journal, and, for journals and anthologies, article name, page numbers, volume, and issue numbers.
5. **Be sure to include your current mailing address, as well as an e-mail address, if available.** Once an article is accepted and published, the author will receive a complimentary copy of the issue in which his or her article appears.

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Volume 27.2 **2001**

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Articles Index

by **date**[1]

This issue of Notes on Literacy is a cumulative index of the articles, abstracts, and reviews that appear 1966-2001. The format is similar to that of the 1993 Cumulative Index, with a few changes to keep the number of pages from expanding too rapidly. The Articles Index gives the reader a sense of what issues are of interest to those who promote literacy in non-European languages. This reader can use this list as a guide to what is appropriate to write about when submitting articles to Notes on Literacy for publication.

The articles listed here are available on paper media as well as on electronic media. All articles in Notes on Literacy (and many other literacy resources) are included in LinguaLinks® Library CD-ROM, which can be ordered from http://www.sil.org. The LinguaLinks Library has search capabilities useful to the researcher, and the Library can be updated periodically by subscription. For the most recent Notes on Literacy issues, the paper version is necessary.

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[1]Most of the articles under the **primer** topics are applications of the Gudschinsky Method. Articles under this topic often compare the Gudschinsky Method with other methods.

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[2]There are two Issues No. 44. One contains articles and the other contains an index supplement.

[3]Many of these articles contain speculative thinking about adult literacy programs.

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[4]Case studies include a wide range of topics.

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[1]The term General can mean (1) written in the context of a specific continent or country, (2) referring to languages in a country in general, or (3) brief mention made of several languages.

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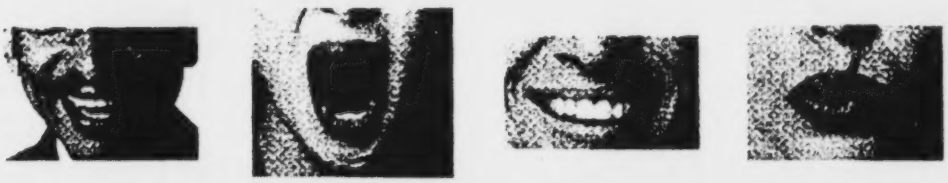
WHEN TALK IS A SCIENCE...



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NOTES ON *LITERACY*

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Notes on Literacy 27.3:3–7.

Factors Affecting Community Literacy Programs: Assessment and Response

Barbara Trudell

Barbara Trudell has been involved in literacy work since 1982. Barbara served first with SIL Peru in literacy support and administration. From 1993–2000, she was the SIL Africa Area literacy coordinator. Currently Barbara is pursuing a Ph.D. in African studies and education, at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

This article was presented as a paper at the Oxford International Conference on Education and Development, held in Oxford, UK on 19–21 September 2001. The goal of the paper was to provide the audience (largely educators, specialists in international development, and representatives of donor agencies) with some idea of SIL's practices and priorities in literacy.

Introduction

Although personnel in SIL-associated literacy programs do not often engage in formal program evaluation, they do a great deal of informal program assessment. SIL's decentralized administrative structure allows community-level literacy workers a great deal of latitude in shaping the local program. Their local experience is also a valued resource in shaping organizational policy. Therefore, assessment done by literacy program practitioners has significant impact on SIL program practice and policy at both local and national levels. Assessment and analysis of the impact of various factors in a language program is a regular part of SIL-associated programs, in the form of yearly reviews of strategies and implementation. [All the examples referred to in this article come from sub-Saharan Africa. In the context of the presentation, it was made clear Africa is where most of my own personal experience has been; however, there was no intimation that SIL's literacy work is limited to that continent.]

Factors

Certain factors are often found to have significant impact on a community literacy program—significant enough to induce changes in program direction and implementation.

Orthography

Does one exist in the target language? Is it easy to use? Is it well accepted by the local speakers?

Example: The Naro language of Botswana is distinguished by having twenty-eight phonemic clicks. Devising an alphabet for Naro speakers to use has been a challenge. After various attempts had been made by outsiders (including SIL) to develop an alphabet, it became clear that in order for progress to be made the Naro themselves must be part of the decision making process. So in October 1997, interested parties including government and university representatives, SIL personnel, and Naro leaders, met in D'Kar, Botswana for a workshop on the Naro orthography. Thorough discussions led to adoption of a proposed orthography for the Naro language. The discussions also brought out a strong sense of ownership and commitment by the Naro speakers to the orthography and to their language.

Partners and their goals

SIL's partners in literacy include local communities, governments, funding agencies, church bodies, and other NGOs. Over the years, trends have become clear in those partners' interests: mother-tongue education, women and development, language and culture preservation, to name a few. As partners' priorities emerge, they have an impact on SIL's program planning, at both local and national levels.

Example: In Mozambique, the government education research arm, the Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento de Educaçao (INDE) has been developing mother-tongue education programs over the past decade for minority languages of Mozambique. INDE has long been a key partner of SIL in Mozambique; therefore, SIL's local programs personnel have modified their program goals and activities to support this education initiative, serving as resource personnel in linguistics, local languages, and mother-tongue education.

Example: In northern Togo, SIL-backed literacy efforts among the Kabiyè people have led to the establishment of a rural literacy and development program for women, called AFASA (Association des Femmes pour: l'Alphabétisation, la Santé et les Activités Génératrices de Revenues). As Kabiyè women and men became literate, it became clear that the will and the potential exist to address serious local issues of nutrition and agriculture as well as literacy. AFASA was conceptualized and established about seven years ago, with the help of SIL personnel and funds. It is flourishing now, with Kabiyè women taking responsibility for all aspects of the program.

Example: Funding agency partners' priorities invariably include assessment. When local-language literacy programs request significant financial help from an agency, therefore, one requirement of that partnership is rigorous and formal assessment. In Ghana, the burgeoning mother-tongue literacy program run by the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT) over the past few decades (between 20,000 and 40,000 adults from 27 language groups in class each year) led GILLBT to apply to agencies like the Department for International Development (DfID), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and Evangelische Zentralstelle für Entwickungshilfe (EZE) for financial aid. The conditions of those agencies' participation in this literacy program have included meticulous record keeping and regular outside evaluation; such activities have been time-consuming at times, but they have brought greater accountability and efficiency to the program as well.

Political stability

Not surprisingly, civil conflict has significant impact on SIL-associated literacy programs. Great flexibility and adaptability are required of any program taking place in an unstable area.

Example: In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, civil war and rebel activity across the north and east of the country have truncated a number of SIL-associated literacy and training efforts. Expatriates cannot live in-country; cross-country travel is very dangerous for Congolese. As a result, strategies involving the establishment of local mother-tongue literacy programs by expatriates have been discarded, giving way to strategies for long-distance training of Congolese colleagues and creative resource management.

The extent of community willingness to take ownership of the literacy program

Example: In the Atacora region of Benín, an association of seven language committees has established a center for literacy training and local-language literature production. In 1996 the Association Coopérative des Commissions Linguistiques de la Zone nord-ouest de l'Atacora (ACCLZNOA) was formed by six language commissions (Nateni, Waama, Biali, Fulfuldé, Ditammari, and Mbèlimè) to establish and manage this center. In 1999, the Centre de Production des Documents en Langues Nationales (CPDLN) was officially dedicated. The Gangam language commission joined ACCLZNOA in 1999.

Early on in this initiative, it became clear that the association was both motivated and knowledgeable about acquiring needed resources. The request made of SIL was for literacy consultants and trainers. SIL's part in this initiative has thus been to prioritize assignment of literacy personnel to

meet the request, at the cost of other potential or active literacy programs elsewhere.

Content of materials: what do the people want to read?

Examples of local-language materials produced in 2000, responding to audience interest:

- Calendars and agenda books in the Cerma, Dagara, Dogosé, Mooré, San, and Turka languages of Burkina Faso
- Collections of locally-produced creative writing in the Fulfuldé and Minyanka languages of Mali
- Materials to help French literates learn to read in their own local language, in the Jola-Kasa, Lehar, Ndut, and Noon languages of Senegal
- Booklets on health topics in the Giryama and Tharaka languages of Kenya
- Instruction materials for both Lingala and French as second languages, for the Ngbaka people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo
- Biblical parables in the Mekaa and Mundani languages of Cameroon.

The nature of outside input, given the local context

The placement of trained literacy specialists in communities whose language is mostly undeveloped has resulted in a clear increase in literacy activity in those language areas: classes attended, local involvement in leadership, new partnerships formed. In other programs, however, the local language community has the expertise needed to run a literacy program itself. In this case, SIL's role is a consultative one, generally not onsite.

Example: In Ghana, the goal of GILLBT (a Ghanaian SIL affiliate) is that each language program becomes completely independent. A few programs, such as BILFACU (Bimoba Literacy Farmers Cooperative Union), in the Bimoba language, have incorporated themselves as NGOs, and have taken on responsibility for all operations and fundraising. GILLBT encourages its literacy programs to reduce their dependence on GILLBT as soon as is feasible.

Observations

A. Informal literacy program assessment is locally effective because it is based on a good understanding of the program, and it results in modifications to the program. However, one big weakness of such informal assessment is that it does not permit the information that is gained to

be shared widely; only those closest to the program are aware of it. The ideal would be to follow up informal assessment with periodic structured evaluation, both formative and summative. We have so much to learn that we cannot afford to lose the valuable insights gained by local program experience.

B. The local presence of literacy program organizers in the community is important to promoting and implementing an effective literacy program. Such specialists can have substantial impact on the language community, especially if they are able to speak the language to some extent. Knowledgeable program planning, grassroots partnerships, effective use of resources, credibility, and program impact are all enhanced when such personnel are closely involved. When these resource personnel are not part of the local picture, it is generally much more difficult to achieve a significant impact on the population.

C. The trends and issues affecting our partners are very important to SIL. They have a substantial impact on how a given literacy program is shaped. Furthermore, it should be expected that as new partnerships form in the course of the program, the partners' priorities are likely to cause some modification of program practices.

D. The history of a language's development has significant impact on the shape of a local literacy program; e.g., orthography, linguistic work done, language attitudes that have developed. As understanding of these powerful factors develops, the program must adapt to incorporate and address them.

E. Political and civil stability make a big difference in the likelihood of success and sustainability of a literacy program. Particularly in areas of potential instability, literacy program planners need to develop contingency strategies and be ready to flex as needed.

Reference

Trudell, Barbara, ed. *SIL Africa Area Annual Literacy Reports*, 1994–2001. Nairobi: SIL. [Note: This yearly document was begun in 1994, and compiles data from each of the approximately twenty sub-Saharan countries where SIL and its partners are active in literacy: publications done that year in each language; partnerships in the country, literacy classes and related training done that year by SIL or its partners; and other similar information.]

Notes on Literacy 27.3:8–22.

Mother-Tongue Education in Schools in Tharaka Language Group of Kenya

Leila Schroeder

Leila Schroeder is married and the mother of two girls. Her husband is an administrator with Uganda-Tanzania branch, which has "loaned" Leila to Bible Translation and Literacy (BTL), a Kenyan organization, where she serves as a bilingual education and literacy specialist. Before joining SIL in 1981, Leila graduated from Biola College with a B.A. in Education. She taught elementary school in the U.S. for nine years, and was involved in bilingual education for eight of those. During that time she earned a M.A. in Urban Education with Bilingual Education Emphasis, and a Specialist Credential in Bilingual Education from the state of California.

Since joining SIL, Leila has taught in three of SIL's literacy courses, as well as teaching Vernacular Literacy and ESL at Pan Africa Christian College (1994–97). She also participated in the first Africa Literacy Consultant Training seminar in 1997, and the first Multilingual Education seminar at UND in 1999.

Introduction

This article is a summary of a proposal prepared for funding for the Tharaka and Sabaot mother-tongue education in schools. The original proposal included information on the Sabaot program, which is not included in this summary. The Bible Translation and Literacy (BTL) of Kenya prepared the proposal, in partnership with SIL International.

The specific purpose of the project covered in this article is to raise the quality of educational services provided to rural linguistic populations living in the Tharaka language area in Kenya. This will be accomplished by (1) providing linguistically appropriate materials that beginning school children can understand; (2) training teachers to use the language spoken by the children in basic educational activities; (3) significantly upgrading the quality and frequency of supervisory activities in the project area; and (4) raising the expectations of parents, children, and community leaders about the schools, teachers, and educational process. BTL and the government's Ministry of Education officials in this language area are carrying out this seven-year program with some funds from outside.

Program goal

According to the Kenyan National Development Plan 1997–2001, only 76 percent of primary school children are actually in school. According to World Bank figures (World Bank 1995a), the gross enrollment rate for primary school children in Kenya is 91 percent. Since gross enrollment rates in developing countries for the earliest primary grades are typically 15-20 percent above the net enrollment rates, this estimate seems reasonable. The UNESCO World Education Report (1991:122) indicates that 74 percent of the age cohort was reaching grade 4 in 1987. Moreover, enrollment data from Kenya suggest that fully a quarter of those reaching grade 4 drop out before reaching grade 5, especially in rural areas. If we accept research studies which suggest that an average of four to five years of education are needed in developing countries to ensure lifelong literacy, then we may calculate that only about 55 percent of Kenya's rural population are gaining lifelong benefit from the existing educational system.

According to the World Bank (1995b), primary school enrollment rates are beginning to decline in Kenya. The reasons for this tendency are complex, including population growth, inadequate funding from the state, the perceived low rate of return to education, and unproductive educational processes (poorly trained teachers, weak supervision, inadequate materials, linguistic problems).

Problems to be addressed

At least three problems have to be addressed in program implementation. First, the existing educational infrastructure has to be "won over" to the new strategies and methodologies implied in mother-tongue education. In the Sabaot project area, this problem has already been partially addressed by virtue of pilot programs already operating in the project. Response has been generally positive, and there is considerable support for continuing and expanding programs as foreshadowed in this proposal. In Tharaka, preliminary discussions with district-level educational officials have indicated their willingness to experiment and to support program activity.

Secondly, parents need to be convinced that the use of the mother tongue is not going to compromise the education of their children. Uneducated adults are not swayed so much by sophisticated arguments and statistical analyses as by their own perceptions and long-held social values. It is evident to most such people that a mastery of the national or official language is a *sine qua non* for educational and economic opportunity. It is then assumed that the best way to develop such mastery is to be taught "via" this language at school. The statistical evidence of attrition does not sway this

perception or the sharply lower effectiveness of an educational process in which instruction is only in a language the child does not know.

The third problem to be addressed is that of adequate and comparable measurements. All other things being equal, researchers have demonstrated that mother-tongue education is an effective strategy for education (Dutcher 1995; Baker 1995). In fact, in some instances, it has been shown to be dramatically superior (but begging for further investigation as to delayed results, i.e., follow-up comparison of control groups at middle school and secondary level).

However, program specialists can rarely count on "things being equal." Innumerable variables intrude into program implementation, which skew program results. These include teacher turnover, relocation of villagers, arbitrary actions and pronouncements by regional and national education officers, natural disasters, local social disruption, sensitivities on the part of local teachers and administrators, local conflicts between teachers and communities, to name just a few. We are trying to minimize the influence of these variables, as the reader will see.

Program strategy

The strategy of the Tharaka mother-tongue program is to improve the quality of local education in the project area by providing primary school instruction in the mother tongue of the learners. Kenya has a national education policy that favors or mandates the use of the mother tongue in primary education, from preschool through grade 3.

The sub-strategies for realizing the broader strategy include the following:

- The program will solidify relationships with local agencies involved in the delivery of educational services to the project areas.
- Local communities—parents, leaders, PTAs, educators, development officials, church leaders, businesses—are being given orientation as to the structure and rationale for the program. (At present, these two communities, i.e., Tharaka and Sabaot, are calling for such a program.)
- The program will develop pedagogical materials that are linguistically and educationally appropriate to the task. (Until now, few materials have existed in any of the schools in the project areas, and they were in languages other than the language of the learners.)
- All of the teachers to be involved in the program will receive special training to (a) use the specialized materials which will be developed, (b) teach more creatively than is the norm, (c) work

constructively with supervisory personnel, and (d) maintain the records and carry out the testing that the program entails. (Currently, all teachers are trained to teach only in the language of wider communication and are given minimal pedagogical training. There is also minimal supervision at present.)

- A more regular and rigorous supervisory program will be implemented to raise levels of accountability, to ensure good program implementation, and to assist in program monitoring and evaluation. (Currently, supervision varies greatly from non-existent to fairly regular.)
- There will be special training for cooperating partners so that key staff can master and learn to apply the educational strategies basic to mother-tongue and multilingual education.
- A program of systematic testing and evaluation will be incorporated into the program to monitor progress, points of weakness, and to document for all stakeholders the impact of the program.

Rationale for undertaking the program

As has already been noted, education in rural areas of developing countries (especially those that are linguistically diverse) is typically of a low quality. This situation serves both to preserve the inequities and marginalization of rural peoples and to retard general national progress towards development.

In the present program, two populations will participate, all of whom are linguistic minorities living in economically marginal areas (mountains, semi-desert). All have some schooling available, but all are experiencing (a) high levels of attrition by the end of primary school and (b) minimal educational success. It is the conviction of BTL and SIL that dramatic improvement can be obtained in each area. The following describes one of these, Tharaka, in more detail.

Background information

Tharaka culture and language

The Tharaka District was created two years ago to provide better governance and delivery of service to those living in the area defined by District boundaries. This district, which was formerly a part of Meru District, is in the Eastern Province, northeast of Mount Kenya. The majority of the populace is identified ethnically and linguistically as 'Tharakas' and

speakers of Kitharaka. This language is one of the northeastern Bantu languages.

The Tharaka history of migration dates back to the spread of the Bantu peoples from southern Africa to their present location. The Tharaka people now occupy the vast area on the low plains between the slopes of Mount Kenya in the west and the upper Tana River in the east. Current population estimates put the Tharaka population at around 115,000, with almost 80 percent of these being between the ages of ten and forty. Less than 10 percent are over forty, with the rest of the population being under ten years of age. An additional estimated 10,000 Tharakas live outside the district.

Socio-economic factors

The Tharaka are settled farmers living in a semi-arid area, marginal at best for productive farming. When there is little rain, food deprivation is common. Average family income was less than US$200 per year in 1997. Along with keeping domestic animals, the Tharaka people grow millet, sorghum, cotton, green peas, and sunflower, but lack of adequate rain results in very low yields. Their problems include drought, polluted rivers, illiteracy, traditions that hinder health and education, remoteness (there are almost no roads in the area), and historically limited educational opportunities, especially for women.

Any rare surplus of crops is usually sold in local markets. Men's work is to cultivate land and build houses. Women share in the farm work and also fetch water, collect firewood, and cook for the family. Young girls normally help their mothers in domestic work after school while the boys take care of the animals.

Educational milieu

With the creation of the Tharaka District as a political entity, a Tharaka school district was created as well (before, schools were being administered from Meru), and a District Commissioner (DC) was allocated to their area. Up until then, no roads had been built into the area. Since they now have a DC, it is hoped that the new district will receive funds that previously went to other more favored areas to the north, center, and south. When/if these funds arrive, at least one graded and graveled road will be built into the area.

Because of the isolation and lack of development in the area, only ten Land Rovers serve all of Tharaka district. These vehicles are the only form of public transport for the over 100,000 inhabitants. The school district owns one large truck and has two borrowed motorcycles for supervision and delivery of supplies throughout the hot, dusty, road-less terrain.

The newly constructed school district offices are located in Marimanti town, in the center of the valley. The small building is divided into about 12 cubicles, the largest of which is the office of the District Education Officer. That office can hold a maximum of six people at a time, seated around a small table.

Despite its limitations, the school district has a few crucial assets: commitment and motivation. Teachers and administration have been requesting reading materials in the mother tongue for several years. Some teachers have purchased BTL's materials for adults and have begun using those in Standard 2 classes with a lot of success. A group of teachers has already attended six writers' workshops in the hope of developing materials expressly for primary schools.

According to the Kenyan National Development Plan 1997–2001 (p.134), only 76 percent of primary school children in Kenya are actually in school, and the dropout rate is high. As a bilingual education consultant, the author first visited schools in February 1999. Kamatungu school's enrollment statistics were typical ("standard 1" is roughly equivalent to American grade 1, etc.): According to this enrollment record for Kamatungu school, attrition is 32 percent by standard 3 and 66 percent by standard 8.

Std. 1	Std. 2	Std. 3	Std. 4	Std. 5	Std. 6	Std. 7	Std. 8
100	67	68	85	52	50	45	34

Girls very often drop out of school by the time they have attained grade 8 ("standard 8") in school. Female circumcision is still widely practiced, and usually determines the time when girls are considered "women," thus disqualifying them from academic pursuits. Some women's groups are working to educate men and women and hope to eradicate female circumcision and the loss of life and educational opportunities associated with it.

Because of the marginal character of the zone and the lack of local economic opportunity, the people have a keen interest in education and economic development for their children as a means of overcoming their poverty. The immediate beneficiaries of the program are the children attending or about to attend primary grades pre-school through 3 in the Tharaka region.

The bilingual education program

Bible Translation and Literacy (BTL), has had a literacy (and Bible translation) project in the area since 1988. Several reading classes have been conducted for adults, and nine classes were in operation in 1997, using a prereading book and a primer. Some classes in transitional literacy have

been conducted, with people trained to go to their home areas and give mother-tongue reading instruction to people who are literate in Kiswahili or English. Progress with adult education has been quite slow, for a variety of reasons.

Teachers in BTL's adult literacy program must be volunteers and in this poverty-stricken area, few are willing or able to spare the time to teach or attend the classes, much less get the training they need. Supervision has been difficult because the BTL project staff member in charge of adult literacy has difficulty getting around to check on the classes and to distribute books.

Goal

The goal of a seven-year multilingual education program in Tharaka is to enable Tharaka-speaking children to achieve academic parity with other Kenyan children whose education is in a language they understand. We expect them to acquire reading skills more quickly than in the past, and to read with understanding. We expect their academic achievement to improve in all areas of the curriculum in which the mother tongue is the language of instruction in the primary schools in the Tharaka district. We expect, based on recent research (Dutcher 1995 and Muskin 1998), to see a higher level of acquisition of wider languages of communication, and that children will begin to become multiliterate. Although poverty is one cause of the high dropout rate, failure to succeed academically is another factor in the minds of teachers and parents. We predict a decrease in attrition as a direct result of this program.

Depicted in figure 1 is a projection of the influence of a multilingual education program, beginning with a pilot program in three schools, extending to one school in each of twelve zones, and finally expanding to all the schools in the district (currently 152). The program would progress in two dimensions annually:

1. in succeeding grade levels, and
2. administratively/geographically, from three schools to an additional twelve (zonally), to all (district-wide).

	Material Development Phase begins	Pilot Program (Test Phase) begins	Extension Phase begins (12 schools, 12 zones)	Expansion Phase begins (152 schools)
2002	Pre and 1 materials published Prog. mgr. trained Teachers/ supervisors trained (3 schools) Dec.			
2003	Std. 2 materials published. Teachers/ supervisors trained (3 schools) December	Pre and 1 teachers use materials in pilot schools Evaluate and revise materials More teachers trained for extension to 12 zones		
2004	Std. 3 materials published. Teachers/ supervisors trained (3 schools) December	Std. 2 teachers use materials in pilot schools Evaluate and revise materials More teachers trained for extension phase	Pre and 1 teachers use materials in 12 schools (12 zones) More teachers trained for expansion phase (December)	
2005		Std. 3 teachers use materials in pilot schools Evaluate and revise materials More teachers trained for extension	Std. 2 teachers use materials in 12 schools (12 zones) More teachers trained for expansion phase (December)	Pre and 1 teachers use materials in all schools
2006			Std. 3 teachers use materials in 12 schools (12 zones) More teachers trained for expansion phase (December)	Std. 2 teachers use materials in all schools
2007				Std. 3 teachers use materials in all schools

Figure 1. Model of Tharaka multilingual education plan.

Because "mother-tongue reading" is only allocated thirty minutes of instructional time per day, and because academic success will be facilitated by instruction via the mother tongue in the other subject areas, a district committee will develop mother-tongue materials for the content areas where applicable (not for Kiswahili and English, for example). These materials are:

- Arts and crafts
- Geography, history and civics
- Kiswahili
- Mathematics
- Music
- Physical education
- Religious education
- Pastoral program
- Science
- English

Because of time and monetary limitations, such materials may be designed only as a resource for teachers (such as a classroom dictionary of useful terminology/suggested vocabulary).

Problems to be addressed

Certain inadequate educational practices will be tackled. It will be essential to win over the educational infrastructure in the following ways:

- *Devaluing of language:* Current practice is to teach the English alphabet as soon as possible, even as early as preschool, despite the fact that children have never heard it spoken until they come to school, and despite the fact that national school policy dictates that all preschool instruction be given in the mother tongue of the child. When people see their language written and in use academically, when teachers (highly respected in the Tharaka community) write it, and also when people eventually see that mother-tongue skills can transfer to other languages such as English, the valuing of the Tharaka language will probably improve.
- *Lack of materials:* This need will be addressed each year of the program. The parents' and schools' ability to purchase materials as the program expands, however, poses a double challenge: (1) materials development, and (2) financial constraints in the community.

- *Lack of understanding:* Another cause of failure to teach primary school children in the mother tongue is lack of understanding that development of academic skills in the mother tongue will facilitate achievement in all areas, *including* acquisition of languages of wider communication. It will be our task to convince educators of these benefits, and for the schools to educate the community.
- *Rote learning methods:* The most common teaching style involves rote repetition of whatever the teacher says. Classes are very large and the teacher may have the only copy of a given textbook. It will be our goal to train teachers for more interactive instructional practices, and providing more textbooks for the learners will help achieve this.
- *Book distribution and preservation:* In the past, schools have asked students to buy their own textbooks, and very few have had the money to do so. Typically only the teacher has a given textbook, or clusters of students share a few books.
- *Transfers of teachers or supervisors:* Frequent transfers of newly trained teachers or supervisors (or materials developers) can affect the quality of the program.
- *Support of the community:* It will be essential to gain this community support before the program begins in the pilot schools. Tharaka people are proud of their language, and there is a rising sense of pride that their language is written, after generations of schooling in three languages their children did not know (neighboring Kimenti language, Kiswahili trade language, and English official language). However, mastery of English is widely considered the only means to success and a future for their children. It is commonly believed that English must be taught and used as much as possible (though some teachers themselves are weak in that subject).
- *Teacher training in the mother tongue:* Teachers lack training in use of, and in teaching via the mother tongue.
- *Supervision:* Currently there is little supervision, because of lack of transportation.
- *Measuring results:* It will be a challenge to accurately and comparably measure the results. Despite all the evidence in support of mother-tongue education (Dutcher 1995, Thomas and Collier 1997), we know that extraneous variables can skew program results. Teacher turnover, transport problems, weather (a big factor there), ethnic disturbances and relocation of entire villages and

schools, and sensitivities on the part of local teachers and administrators are just some of the variables we will be unable to control.

Program strategy

The strategy of the program is to improve the quality of local education in the project areas by providing primary school instruction in the mother tongue. The national educational policy, as stated earlier, actually favors this.

This will be accomplished by:

- Solidifying relationships with local schools and other agencies involved in education in the Tharaka area. The school district officers have already expressed their support and desire for involvement.
- Orienting local communities to the structure and rationale for the program.
- Developing needed pedagogical materials, which are linguistically and educationally appropriate.
- Training all teachers involved in the program to use the materials developed and to teach more interactively. They will be assisted to work constructively with supervisory personnel, maintain records, and give tests developed for the program.
- Providing for regular and rigorous supervision, raising levels of teacher accountability, and ensuring program implementation. It is hoped increased supervision will raise morale of teachers and learners, raising the value of mother-tongue education in their eyes.
- Providing additional training for school district administrators, and key BTL staff so they can train others and continue developing educational materials.
- Implementing systematic testing of learners into the program, and monitoring progress and modifying methods or materials if the need arises. Also giving tests to assess the larger impact of the program.
- Bringing practice into line with official (national) policy that states that English and Kiswahili instruction should be oral only (not written) through grade 1.
- Helping teachers learn and use additional second-language instruction skills.

The program will provide all books for the three pilot schools, grades preschool through Standard 3, as these materials are being tested. All subsequent materials will be sold to schools at 25 percent of cost, and the materials for each grade level at each school will come in a metal box with a padlock. They will be stored in the office of the headmaster (the only place at each school with a locking door). Such subsidizing of the cost of literacy materials will end when the final expansion phase ends. It is expected that the system the school has in place will then be sufficient to ensure continued purchasing and replacement of lost or damaged books. For preschool and the first half of the standard 1 year, "Big Books" will be printed for teacher use with the entire class, so individual students will not need textbooks until the second half of standard 1.

Project inputs

The local school district will contribute the following:

- District Education Office
  - school facilities
  - salaries for teachers
  - general education administration
  - some of the trainers
  - salaries for supervisory staff
- BTL Kenya
  - linguistic expertise
  - staff specialist in literacy and education
  - core curriculum for mother-tongue literacy
  - trainer for mother-tongue literacy
  - desktop publishing services
  - some support staff
  - radio communication to the project
- Local community
  - participation in local Parent-Teacher Association
  - paying school fees, which cover teacher salaries and help with purchase of mother-tongue texts.

Training

Local communities will be given orientation to the rationale and plan for mother-tongue education in Tharaka. Second, instructional and supervisory personnel will be trained in the use of mother-tongue education materials.

Additionally, district supervisors will receive training in project management. BTL will acquire the services of a mother-tongue speaker of Tharaka for the duration of the program. That person will work with BTL's bilingual education specialist, conducting writers' workshops and helping develop the educational materials needed.

Outputs

Program outputs include the following:

- Curriculum and materials: a mother-tongue literacy curriculum will be developed, published, and distributed to all participants in the program. Additionally, materials will be developed as supplements for teaching of the other content areas, using the mother tongue.
- Trained educators and supervisors: 3 divisional inspectors, 12 zonal inspectors, 12 TAC-tutors (teacher trainers), at least 608 primary/preschool teachers, and at least 152 headmasters (principals) will be trained.
- Learners: Approximately 20,000 learners will participate in the program.

Critical indicators

The following critical indicators will define a successful program:

- A full set of literacy materials has been developed, published, and distributed to every classroom participating in the program, grades preschool through 3;
- At least 152 (the district is currently expecting to add 6 more) schools have participated in the program;
- Approximately 20,000 learners have participated in the program;
- A 25 percent reduction in attrition rates for those participating has been achieved (results may be delayed; we predict this reduction will be quite notable by the end of grade 8);
- All primary school teachers who are mother-tongue speakers have been trained to teach reading/writing in the mother tongue;
- School supervisors have been trained to oversee instruction in the program;
- 75 percent of children finishing grade 2 in the program are fluent readers.

Potential obstacles

Failure to acquire the following may result in failure in the project:

- Full-time BTL staff assigned to the project (probably a "program manager"), onsite by the time the pilot program begins in 2003.
- Equipment to enable communication between language project personnel and Nairobi administrators (there must be radio or email or phone communication set up and working).
- Transport for district supervisors at the project location.

Monitoring plan

Project monitoring will be accomplished by four strategies:

- regular participatory assessments, carried out by district supervisory personnel;
- the use of a management information system for formal program data;
- the use of specialized reading tests designed by the program staff, as well as mother-tongue translations of any tests given currently in another language, for purposes of comparison; and
- the monitoring of overall program progress by BTL and SIL staff.

Such a management information system will operate throughout the school year, using monthly reports. Records will be maintained both at district headquarters and at the Nairobi offices of BTL. Any district-wide tests will follow the normal school schedule for such things. Program staff in Nairobi will monitor the program continually.

Conclusion

As the reader will infer, carrying out a program such as the one described above is no small task. Success in attaining our goals will depend upon a small army of people, from the specialists to the teachers, local writers, local supervisors, and parents in the communities. Having said all this, we actually do expect success (as we have defined it earlier), because, at this point at least, the only "support" still lacking is that of a funding agency!

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The Recent History of Education in Cambodia

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Introduction

The purpose of this article is to describe the development of the educational system in Cambodia from the French colonial time until the present. Besides tracing the history of the modern education in Cambodia, this article will seek to show how education has been a visible part of Cambodia's nation-building process, and how Cambodia's ruling regimes have used or ignored education to reach ideological or other goals.

Fuller's fragile state theory holds that states in many developing societies are under enormous pressure to look modern and to act in a way that address economic and social problems without undercutting the legitimacy, material interests, or advantages of elites. As a result, in developing nations schooling is organized and delivered in ways that serve the political and symbolic goals of the state but does not necessarily educate the masses. Even development might lead to broadening of education; it will be superficial, with those most in need of extensive education less likely to receive it (Mickelson, Nkomo, and Smith 2001). Ayres (2000b) argues that since independence in Cambodia, traditional political culture leads to a state-making associated with asserting and reinforcing the power and legitimacy of national political leaders.

Traditional Cambodian education

Before the French arrived in Indochina, education in Cambodia was limited to boys and was carried out by Buddhist monks in wats, or temples (Ablin 1991; Bilodeau 1955; Gyallay-Pap 1989). While not standard from one school to the next, the curriculum of the wat school usually consisted

of "reading and writing Khmer, principles of Buddhism, rules of propriety, and some arithmetic" (Gyallay-Pap 1989:258). Wat-school education also emphasized the importance of work, as students "worked with the monks to build temples, dwellings, roads, bridges, and water reservoirs and to manufacture furniture and other things" (Torhorst 1966:154).

In spite of the importance of the Khmer language in the curriculum, Bilodeau (1955) argues that most students left wat schools illiterate. While boys learned to 'read' the Buddhist sacred texts, in actual fact, the texts were learned by heart, as a result of endless repetition, and the pupils were quite incapable of reading the words separately. A Cambodian boy leaving the wat school had his memory stocked with edifying passages, but could neither read nor write.

Quinlan (1992) suggests, that wat-school education served a broader purpose than literacy. Beyond its curricular goals, education was intended to support social solidarity by "ensuring social cohesion and the maintenance of traditional values" (p. 8).

Education development in Cambodia during the French colonial period

Nineteenth century

Most scholars state that France largely ignored or neglected education in Cambodia in the 19th century (Chandler 1993; Gyallay-Pap 1989; Smith 1965, 1971). Some scholars also argue that the reason why so few Cambodians participated in French education was their resistance to French colonialism. This resistance was lead by Cambodia's King Norodom, who "displayed no interest in assisting the development of French-sponsored education" (Osborne 1969:255) and who, with the rest of the royal family, "looked down on all that was foreign" (Vickery 1986:5) and "resisted the French language" (Forest 1980:151).

The French left the wat schools to their own devices and established a small system of "modern" Franco-Cambodian schools in the decades following their arrival in Cambodia (Clayton 1995).

In 1873 the first French-language School of the Protectorate was opened and in 1893 it was renamed the College of the Protectorate (Bilodeau 1955; Forest 1980; Quinlan 1992). In 1885 the French opened a college for interpreters in Phnom Penh and three French-language primary schools in provincial capitals (Morizon 1931:178). Kiernan (1985) comments that in 1900 "the only remaining primary school for Cambodian students was the College of the Protectorate in Phnom Penh" (p. xiii).

Out of these Franco-Cambodian schools came educated men who "formed the nucleus of Cambodia's European-trained civil service." Quinlan (1992:9) and Morizon (1931), for example, describe the new French men as "Westernized Cambodians who, through their loyal service, advanced the French civilizing mission" (p. 178).

Of central importance and value to the French was the ability of the "new men" to speak French and to act as bilingual intermediaries in French-Cambodian interactions. This was important especially because most French administrators in Cambodia could not speak Khmer, even after years in the country. As a result "it was as if a great deal of Cambodian life...was carried out behind a screen, invisible and inaudible to the French" (Chandler 1993:158).

French education in 19th century Cambodia developed concurrently with significant immigration from other Asian countries. Many of those, who availed themselves of Cambodia's limited French educational opportunities, were sons of these recent immigrants (Osborne 1969), particularly the Vietnamese (Forest 1980). The immigrants saw, in learning French and serving the colonial administration, a means of social and financial advancement which would have been unavailable to them in Cambodia's traditional, elite-controlled government structure (Vickery 1991).

Many Cambodians kept their children away from Franco-Cambodian schools, perhaps to minimize contact with the children of Vietnamese immigrants, whom they disliked and distrusted (Forest 1980; Osborne 1969).

The twentieth century

After King Norodom's death in 1904, royal resistance to the French presence in Cambodia ceased (Osborne 1969) but the people of Cambodia continued their resistance to French education. Scholars have suggested a number of reasons for this.

- Resistance to the French language hindered the success of French education (Center for Applied Linguistics 1978).
- "The French education system was not 'legitimate' for Cambodian society." (Quinlan 1992).
- The lack of qualified and appropriate teachers made Cambodians dissatisfied with the French schools (Morizon 1931).

Nonetheless the French expanded the system of Franco-Cambodian schools in the first few decades of the 20th century, and schools were opened in most provincial capitals (Forest 1980:152). The French encouraged participation in the modern educational system with a 1916 decree, which required the attendance of all boys living within two kilometers of a

French school (Bilodeau 1955:17). At least a few of these schools included sections for girls (Forest 1980).

There were two types of Franco-Cambodian schools: elementary schools (écoles élémentaires) and full-course schools (écoles de plein exercice).

Elementary schools offered a three-year elementary cycle of education, which was "intended for the great majority of children." Instruction in the first year of the elementary cycle was given in Khmer, and "French was introduced at the beginning of the second year" (Bilodeau 1955). Full-course schools offered the three-year elementary cycle and a three-year complementary cycle. French was the language of education in the complementary cycle, and the curriculum included "writing, arithmetic, and reading in French, some notions of local history and geography, and experimental geometry" (Forest 1980). The complementary cycle was "attended by the most promising children" (Bilodeau 1955). Graduates of the complementary cycle could enter the Collège Sisowath in Phnom Penh, which prepared students for service in the French colonial administration or for French-language secondary or tertiary education in Vietnam or France (Clayton 1995).

Very few Cambodian students matriculated to higher education. Only six Cambodians had graduated with baccalauréats from French lycées in Vietnam by 1930 (Chandler 1993).

Since the Franco-Cambodian schools were not able to attract large numbers of Cambodians into their schools, the French tried modernizing the wat schools and the Khum schools[1] for this purpose.

The idea of modernizing wat schools came from Thailand. In the wat schools, all courses were in Khmer. The French were able to bring the curriculum more in line with that of Franco-Cambodian elementary schools after they started giving the monks better teachers' training (Forest 1980).

Khum schools[1] appear to have incorporated characteristics of both Franco-Cambodian schools and traditional wat schools. Like Franco-Cambodian schools, Khum schools were secular and were staffed by Cambodian graduates of French education (Morizon 1931). As with wat schools, the local community was involved in the construction and maintenance of Khum schools, and education in these schools appears to have been in Khmer (Morizon 1931).

Like Khum schools, modernized wat schools provided a bridge into Franco-Cambodian schools. If graduates of modernized wat schools were successful in the elementary school-leaving examination, they could enter

[1]Khum schools were secular schools, where Khmer was used as a language of instruction and which were staffed by Cambodian graduates of French education.

Franco-Cambodian complementary schools, though they were first required to take a preparatory course in which they learned French (Bilodeau 1955).

Both Khum schools and wat schools were successful in attracting Cambodian students. Nonetheless, Bilodeau (1955) comments that students in modernized wat schools were less frequently successful in the school-leaving examination than students in Franco-Cambodian elementary schools and that "very few" graduates of modernized wat schools matriculated to the complementary cycle. Kiernan (1985) provides a good example of the limited success of French education among Cambodians:

> There were 160 modern [that is, controlled by the French] primary schools with 10,000 students by 1925....But even by 1944, when 80,000 Cambodians were attending some sort of modern primary schools (including Khum and modernized wat schools), only about 500...students per year completed their primary education certificate. Those enrolled even now made up less than 20 per cent of the male school-age population (few females were enrolled). In the same year, 1944, there were only 1,000...secondary students. The first high school, the Lycee Sisowath in Phnom Penh, offered a full secondary education only after 1933. Even by 1953 there were still only 2,700...secondary students enrolled in eight high schools. (There were of course no universities.) Only 144 Cambodians had completed the full Baccalaureat by 1954. (p. xiii)

Education from the beginning of independence (1953)

Cambodian Independence was proclaimed on 9 November 1953 and recognized by the Geneva Conference of May 1954, which ended French control of Indochina. Prince Norodom Sihanouk seized control of the emergent Cambodian nation-state after the successful outcome of his "royal crusade for independence" (Ayres 2000a).

King Norodom Sihanouk

King Sihanouk took a lively interest in education early in his reign. He believed that formal education was the vehicle that would transform his small country into an industrialized and technologically advanced modern state. Over a period of fifteen years, with the education budget often absorbing more than 20 percent of national expenditure, a multitude of new primary schools, secondary schools, and eventually universities were inaugurated across the country, providing at least basic education access for the vast majority of Cambodia's children (Ayres 2000a).

Between 1953 and 1968 the number of primary students increased from 300,000 to one million. Even more spectacularly, the number of secondary students increased from 5,000 to around one million. Nine universities were also established during this period (Lonely Planet 2000).

Even though there was a huge increase in the quantity of students and school facilities, Sihanouk's educational vision rarely extended beyond the erection of a vast educational infrastructure throughout the country. Very little interest was taken in the need for more teachers, books, learning aids, and regular maintenance of the schools (Ayres 2000a).

From the early twentieth century until 1975, the system of education operated on the French model. The education system was divided into primary (two three-year cycles) and secondary (four years at college and three at lycée) levels. Beginning in 1967, the last three years in secondary school were split up into three sections according to major subjects—letters, mathematics and technology; agriculture; and biology. In the late 1960s and 1970s the country emphasized a technical education. Public education was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, which exercised full control over the entire system. An inspector of primary education was assigned to each province. The Cambodian secondary curriculum was similar to that found in France (Headley 1990). By the early 1970s, Khmer was used more widely in primary education (Ayres 2000a).

Lon Nol

Criticized for his poor economic management, left-leaning political agenda, and inability to prevent Cambodia from becoming embroiled in the conflict in neighboring Vietnam, Prince Sihanouk was deposed in 1970 by a pro-American regime led by his former ally Lon Nol. The ideology of Lon Nol was called "neo-Khmerism." The emphasis on Buddhism was maintained, but loyalty to the monarchy was no longer considered desirable. Instead republicanism was emphasized, while a renewed commitment to capitalism and democracy were substituted for Sihanouk's brand of socialism. Despite the differences in nation building, there was continuity in the area of education because of Lon Nol's commitment to development and his faith in the capacity of education to facilitate its realization (Ayres 2000a).

Education and Democratic Kampuchea (1975–1979)

Despite the extensive military aid and humanitarian assistance from the United States, the Lon Nol regime eventually fell to the communists in April 1975. The new regime—that of the Khmer Rouge—was known as Democratic Kampuchea (Ayres 2000a).

During the Khmer Rouge regime, education was dealt a severe setback. Schools were closed, and educated people and teachers were subjected to suspicion, harsh treatment, and even execution. Ninety percent of all teachers were killed under the Khmer Rouge regime. Only fifty of 725 university instructors, 207 of 2,300 secondary school teachers, and 3,717 of 21,311 primary school teachers survived (Headley 1990).

During the Khmer Rouge regime, education, specifically literacy, was important only in order to "learn technology" according to "the Four Year plan" (Ayres 2000a). Education was now centered on the precepts of Khmer revolution. While young people were rigidly indoctrinated, literacy was neglected, and an entire generation grew up illiterate (Headley 1990). Teachers were recruited from among ideologically pure peasants, and lessons were often conducted in buffalo stables, while learning aids such as books, pencils, and paper were practically nonexistent (Ayres 2000a).

Education in the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) (1979-1989)

Vietnam invaded Cambodia in January 1979 and installed a new government led by former Khmer Rouge officers, Hun Sen who had defected to Vietnam in 1977 and Heng Samrin who had done the same in 1978 (Lonely Planet 2000).

After the Khmer Rouge was driven from power, the educational system had to be re-created from almost nothing. Illiteracy had climbed to more than 40 percent, and most young people under the age of fourteen lacked any basic education (Headley 1990).

The Vietnamese sponsored PRK used rapid educational expansion as the basis of nation building. Education expansion, especially in primary education, was more accelerated than at any other time since the earliest years of Sihanouk's rule (Ayres 2000a).

Education was redefined to serve the purpose of creating "new socialist workmen" and a powerful socialist state. According to the Minister of Education, Penh Navuth, in 1985, the essential objective of the educational system was to "form new and good hard-working citizens with baggage of culture, of technical awareness, of capacity of work, of good health, and of revolutionary morality ready to serve the Kampuchean revolution. Our schools must be organized as cultural centers for all, and as a system of defense against the propaganda of the enemies" (Ayres 2000a).

The school curriculum did not vary a lot from the prewar years. More time was devoted to Khmer language and literature than before the war, and, until the 1984–1985 school year, there was no foreign language instruction. The secondary school syllabus called for four hours of foreign language

instruction per week in Russian, German, or Vietnamese but there were no teachers available to provide such instruction (Vickery 1984).

The education system in the PRK was based very closely on the Vietnamese model. Even the terms for primary and secondary education were changed into direct translations of Vietnamese terms. The primary cycle had four instead of six classes, and the first level of secondary education had three instead of four classes.

Not every young person was able to go to school because schooling both in towns and in the countryside required enrollment fees. Civil servants paid less than others, and access to tertiary studies required loyalty to the regime (Vickery 1984).

Education and the coalition government (1993)

The end of the Cold War eventually resulted in a renewed international effort to settle the Cambodian conflict and finally led to the 1991 Paris Peace Agreements in which the Cambodian warring factions agreed to allow United Nations supervised "free and fair" elections in 1993. A coalition government was made up of the Royalist FUNCINPEC, the Cambodian Peoples Party (CPP), and the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party (BLDT) (Ayres 2000a).

The ideology of the current government is capitalist and free-market oriented, and seeks to uphold Cambodia's successful integration into the global economy as one of its central tenets. This goal is seen as heavily reliant on human resources development, and Cambodia's rulers are again proclaiming educational development as one of their fundamental priorities (Ayres 2000a).

There have been impressive gains made in Cambodian education since the 1993 election. Improvements in educational infrastructure and the training of primary school teachers, as well as the provision of textbooks and teacher's guides are evident throughout the whole country. These improvements have been largely driven and funded by foreign donors (Ayres 2000a), such as the World Bank, IMF, USAID, ADP, UNESCO, EU, etc. However, when teachers are forced to work second jobs or to charge their students informal fees in order to support their families, it shows that more money is needed in education.

Even though Norodom Ranariddh and Hun Sen have proclaimed their commitment to educational improvements and "human resource development," the educational system is receiving inadequate funding. Public expenditure on education as a percentage of the national budget has actually fallen from 11.8 percent in 1996–97 to 8.3 percent in 1998–99 (Ayres

2000a). By comparison, the other ASEAN countries spend 15 to 25 percent of their budgets on education (Cambodia Development Review 2000).

The Cambodian government does not lack challenges in the area of education. The Cambodian Ministry of Education, together with UNESCO, has carried out a survey to assess the magnitude and nature of the illiteracy problem in Cambodia. The results showed that some 62.9 percent of adult population is basically illiterate (36.3 percent illiterates and 26.6. percent semi-literates) (Cambodia Development Review 2000). Formidable educational challenges remain to be solved in Cambodia.

Minority education in Cambodia

According to Cambodian government official figures 3.34 percent of the population are members of minority groups. The unofficial observers say that the real figure may be as high as 10 percent. Ethnic Vietnamese, ethnic Chinese, Cham Muslims, and the indigenous population of the northeastern provinces are the largest minority groups in Cambodia (Escott 2000, Lonely Planet 2000).

Both the Cham and the Chinese communities have their own schools where the former learn Arabic and the Koran and the latter learn in Chinese. They must follow the national curriculum, but have their own linguistic and cultural studies. The Vietnamese tend to attend Khmer schools (Escott 2000).

Although primary school education is a constitutional and universal right for ethnic groups, a comprehensive primary school system does not exist in all the provinces. For example in Ratanakiri province there are seventy-two primary schools scattered throughout the province, but the vast majority do not teach beyond grade 3, if they function at all. There is one high school in the Ratanakiri Province. Even though the ethnic makeup of the Ratanakiri province is estimated to be around 86 percent highlanders (composed of five main ethnic groups: the Tampuan, Jarai, Krung, Brao, and Kravet), only 8 percent of the enrolled students belong to an ethnic minority, most of whom are in the lower grades and only one or two continue and finish (Escott 2000).

Since the government requires that primary school teachers have completed high school, ethnic people cannot be trained to teach in their own communities. The lack of teachers in the remote areas, education in Khmer instead of the mother tongue, and the failure of the formal education system, which does not address the needs of the Highland communities, help explain why formal education has not been successful in the province (Escott 2000).

The problems of the formal education system have created a real need for non-formal education. Minority people see non-formal education as an

avenue to equip both adults and the future generations to face the rapid move towards a market economy, as well as other issues, such as the need for food, security, and improved community health (Escott 2000).

Conclusion

The history of education in Cambodia shows how different rulers have used education to pursue their goals. Before the French colonized Cambodia, traditional Cambodian education was used to build social solidarity and to maintain traditional and religious values. During the colonial period, education was tailored to benefit the colonial purposes of the French. King Sihanouk saw education as a vehicle that would transform his small country into an industrialized and technologically advanced modern state. The Khmer Rouge wanted to transform Cambodia into a Maoist, peasant-dominated agrarian cooperative. Instead of using education, they ignored it and used radical and brutal ways to achieve their goals. Vietnamese-sponsored education had the goal of forming a new and hard-working citizenry submissive to the regime. The ideology of the current government is that of capitalism and the free market seeking to integrate the country into the global economy. Even though Cambodian education is now in a financial crisis, the government sees educational development as a fundamental priority to achieve their goals (Ayres 2000a).

Fragile state theory provides an interesting perspective on the present educational crisis in Cambodia. International institutions such as the World Bank, IMF, and the UN have been creating pressure on Cambodian government towards modernization. The NWO-oriented[2] international advice was eagerly embraced by the government and underscored Cambodia's educational policy framework that was created after the 1993 elections. But, these policies were never implemented. Instead of increasing, the educational budget has been decreasing, and the emphasis of recurrent educational expenditure on salary payments to a select few within the central departments of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport demonstrates the government's lack of concern for those most affected by education (Ayres 2000b). According to the fragile state theory the material interests and advantages of the political and economic elite are obstacles to the successful mass education. It is not possible to transform education and to make it universally available without undercutting the class interest of the elite. Therefore as far as the political elite is concerned, primary school education is not going to reach the minority groups in the provinces of

[2]NWO is an economically oriented modernization model.

Cambodia even if it is a constitutional and universal right for the ethnic groups.

The ethnic minorities in the provinces should not be kept waiting for mass education to become accessible to them. Non-formal bilingual education is one solution to the educationally hopeless situation in the Cambodian provinces. However, it must be modified to the people's needs and initiated by the international development agencies and NGO's, who train the local indigenous community members to become the teachers, trainers, and curriculum developers.

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Orthography Challenges in Bantu Languages

William Gardner

William Gardner has worked with SIL International in Africa since 1988 in Congo-Brazzaville and Mozambique, first as a university lecturer, and later consulting in orthographic decisions with the Ministry of Education. He also served as the Literacy and Linguistics Coordinator for SIL International in Mozambique. More recently, William and his wife Lori have been teaching in the Bible and Translation Studies program at Pan Africa Christian College in Nairobi, Kenya.

Introduction

In Mozambique we are fortunate to have a general commitment by several key entities to using phonemic alphabets; i.e., a one-to-one correspondence between sound and symbol (grapheme or digraph). This is especially true in the case of languages that have only recently been studied and have a writing system developed to enable the writing of vernacular literacy materials. In the case of those languages with a longer written history, there is often some opposition to the new symbols. There have been two orthography seminars on Mozambican languages (1987, 1999), and for eighteen languages it is expected that the orthographies that have been produced will eventually be declared "official" by the government. This article discusses some of the more common orthographic challenges encountered while working with Bantu languages in Mozambique.

Certain sounds and kinds of sounds seem especially prone to difficulties, including nasals (velar, prenasalized, syllabic), special stops (aspiration, implosives), affricates and fricatives, and unusual or borrowed sounds (e.g., clicks, lateral fricatives, retroflexed sibilants). In addition, interference from the national/official language and dialectal variation can introduce specific challenges. I will seek to address these areas in order, although there is often some overlap.

Nasals

I have found three difficulties with nasals, mostly involving the velar position:

- **Prenasalized velar stop /ᵑg/:** Generally this sound is spelled **ng**

- **Velar nasal /ŋ/:** I have found four symbols used for this sound in Mozambique (**ng**, **n'**, **ng'**, **ñ**), none of them without difficulties. If the prenasalized velar stop (see above) also exists in the language (which is commonly the case), then the velar nasal needs to somehow be distinguished from it. The two most common strategies involve the use of an apostrophe: **n'** as in the Shona languages, and **ng'** as in most other languages. If syllabic nasals also exist in the language, the symbol **n'** can be ambiguous, making **ng'** preferable. An option is to use **ñ**, but this is unusual, only used in Chopi in Mozambique.
- **Syllabic nasals /m̩, n̩/:** These generally arise from elision of the vowel in the affixes /mu-/ and /ni-/. Before nonhomorganic sounds, e.g., ms, mr, mk, np, etc., there is usually no ambiguity. But /m̩/ before labials and /n̩/ before alveolars can produce ambiguity with prenasalized sounds, e.g., /^{m}b/, /^{n}d/. One strategy for distinguishing these sounds is to use an apostrophe after the nasal, e.g., **m'b, n'd** to indicate the syllabic nasal. However, the question then arises whether the apostrophe should be used for syllabic nasals in ambiguous situations or all the time.

Stops

- **Aspiration /p^{h}, t^{h}, tʃ^{h}, k^{h}/:** Within language families, aspiration may be phonemic in some varieties but not in others, e.g., Shona and Makhuwa. Indicating aspiration (by **h**) in the varieties that do have phonemic aspiration, e.g., Ndau for Shona, does not generally cause any difficulties. However, one specific problem does arise in the case of the voiceless alveopalatal affricate /tʃ/ (not technically a stop, but patterns as one). The preferred grapheme (one sound, one symbol) is **c**; however, Shona and Swahili (both influenced by English) use **ch** instead of **c**. This causes a problem in Ndau, which makes a distinction between the aspirated and nonaspirated affricate, thus reserving **ch** for the aspirated sound and using **c** for the nonaspirated.
- **Implosives /ɓ, ɗ/:** Where these sounds exist, such as the Shona languages, they are usually more common than their explosive counterparts, which are often limited to borrowed words (and after prenasalization). In addition, the explosive sounds may have a murmured quality, like voiced aspiration. So in these languages the explosives are spelled **bh** and **dh**, while the more common implosives are spelled **b** and **d**. This can cause confusion with other languages, where the explosives are spelled **b** and **d**.

Affricates and fricatives

- **Voiced alveopalatal affricate /ʤ/ and fricative /ʒ/:** Usually the affricate is more common than the fricative (often mostly in borrowed words), so **j** is used for the affricate. However, symbolizing the fricative then becomes a problem. One possibility is **jh** (e.g., Ndau), while another is **zh** (Shona), the latter making sense in parallel with **sh**, but otherwise an "odd" symbol. Other languages choose to reserve the **j** for the fricative and use **dj** for the affricate (e.g., Sena). However, this can end up introducing lots of extra **d**s into the written language.
- **Voiceless alveopalatal fricative /ʃ/ and affricate /ʧ/:** For the sake of simplicity (i.e., one sound, one symbol), **x** is the preferred symbol in Mozambique for the fricative. However, in at least two languages, Ndau (Shona) and Makonde, speakers of the language have insisted on using **sh** instead, as in English (and Swahili). Speakers of some languages have expressed a desire to symbolize the affricate as either **tx** or even **tsh**, but linguists have insisted on **c** instead, especially since **tsh** can refer to a voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate.
- **Retroflexed sibilants /ṣ, ẓ, tṣ, dẓ, pṣ, bẓ/:** Since these usually are also rounded and/or derive historically from labialized sibilants, some languages prefer to spell these with **w,** (e.g., **sw**, **zw**). However, since labialized sibilants often co-exist, it is usually preferred to spell them with **v,** (e.g., **sv**, **zv** in Shona). When the affricates are alveolar, they are usually spelled **tsv** and **dzv**; however, they are often labial instead, in which case the **v** is left off (e.g., **ps**, **bz** in Sena).

Unusual/borrowed sounds

- **Clicks:** In southern Bantu languages, clicks are relatively common, borrowed from the Khoisan languages, often via Zulu. Zulu, Xhosa, and Swati have a well-developed system of clicks, which can be voiced (**gq**), prenasalized (**nq**), and/or aspirated (**qh**). In other Bantu languages, **q** is a common symbol for a general click. Often speakers replace it with a stop (e.g., **k** or **kh**).
- **Lateral fricatives/affricates:** These sounds also are common in southern Bantu languages, and may be voiced (e.g., **lh**, **dl**) or voiceless (e.g., **hl**, **tl**). Speakers often replace them with sibilants (e.g., **x/sh** for the fricative and **j/c** for the affricates).
- **Murmured sounds:** Shona languages have an unusual set of "murmured" nasals, deriving from prenasalized voiceless stops that also get aspirated. The stops themselves may disappear, leaving **mh** and **nh**, as in Shona. However, they may remain (e.g., **mph**, **nth**, **nkh** in Ndau)

and are lightly voiced by the prenasalization, which may be reflected in the orthography (e.g., **mbh**, **ndh**, **ngh** as in Sena).

Interference from national/official or other languages

As mentioned above, Portuguese, English, French, or other influential languages (e.g., Swahili) may cause interference in the orthography of Bantu languages. It seems that this is especially true with the sibilant fricatives and affricates. For example, **x** is a simpler symbol for the voiceless alveopalatal fricative /ʃ/, but **sh** is often preferred. Sometimes people want to spell this sound with **ch**, as in Portuguese and French, but this should be discouraged, as **c** and/or **ch** are to be reserved for the voiceless alveopalatal affricate /tʃ/. A preferable spelling is **c**, especially if there is distinctive aspiration; otherwise, **ch** may be used as in English and Swahili.

Confusion also can arise with the voiced alveopalatal affricate /dʒ/, because the corresponding fricative /ʒ/ is spelled with **j** in Portuguese and French.

Dialectal variation

Often variation within the dialects/varieties of a language can cause orthographic challenges. For example, in Nyanja (Chewa), some varieties have both [r] and [l], while others have only [l]. It may be that there is only one phoneme, in which case it would be preferable to just use one symbol, in this case **l** (in Nyanja, l→r /i, e_). In some languages (e.g., Ndau), some dialects consistently use [l] where the others use [r], which also indicates that one symbol can be used for both, in this case **r**.

In still other cases, it is less clear what to do, as in Kimwani, where one dialect has two phonemes /l, r/ while the other has only one /l/.

Another example of dialectal variation involves the retroflexed ("whistling") affricates. In western Ndau, the point of articulation is alveolar /tʂ, dʐ/, as in Shona, while in eastern Ndau it is bilabial /pʂ, bʐ/, as in Sena. Where they represent the same phoneme, the same symbol should be used (e.g., in the case of Ndau **tsv** and **dzv** have been chosen for all variants).

Sometimes dialect variation can assist in the decision of how to represent sounds. For example, again from Ndau, eastern dialects can have either syllabic nasal /m̩/ or the full prefix /mu-/, while the western dialects only have the full prefix. Therefore, it was decided to always write /mu-/, even though it may be pronounced /m̩/ by some Ndau speakers. In some languages, this decision may not be so easy to make, especially if the syllabic nasal assimilates to the following sound in some varieties but not in others, such as in Njanja.

Morphophonemics

Morphophonemic processes may present challenges for orthographies. A general principle is to represent sounds at the lexical (word) level, and not represent sound changes that occur between words in speech. Of course, where to break words can affect these decisions. Most Bantu languages generally write words conjunctively. One area of disagreement concerns the "genitive" **ya/wa/**etc.

- **Vowels:** Morphophonemic processes within words involving vowels, such as vowel harmony, elision, coalescence, and glide formation, are generally indicated in the orthography. Glide insertion between vowels, however, may or may not be indicated by the orthography. Predictable vowel lengthening, such as on the penultimate syllable in Changana and Makonde, is not indicated.
- **Consonants:** Nasal assimilation (m→n, n→m) is indicated. Also, the "hardening" of /l/ and /r/ after /n/ to /d/ is spelled **nd**.

Addendum

Orthographies of Mozambican Languages Compared with Portuguese

The following general comments comparing and contrasting the orthographies of Mozambican languages with that of Portuguese (as spoken in Mozambique) are based on the report of the I° Seminário Sobre a Padronização de Ortografia de Línguas Moçambicanas (1988). They are intended to assist those starting language study and others who are preparing (transitional) primers in Mozambican languages.

(Note: CP refers to Continental Portuguese)

A. Vowels:

a Always [a], never a schwa [ə] as in unstressed syllables in CP

e [e] ~ [ɛ], never a high schwa [ɨ] as in unstressed syllables in CP, nor [i]

i Always [i], never a semi-vowel [j] as in CP

o [o] ~ [ɔ], never [u] as in unstressed syllables in CP

u Always [u], never a semi-vowel [w] as in CP

B. Consonants:

1. Symbols that represent (approximately) the same sound as in Portuguese:

b	[b]	However, may instead represent [β]
d	[d]	Usually alveolar instead of dental; however, may instead represent [ɗ]
f	[f]	
l	[l]	Never [w] as syllable final in Brazilian Portuguese
m	[m]	
n	[n]	
p	[p]	
t	[t]	Usually alveolar instead of dental as in CP
v	[v]	However, may instead represent [ʋ]

2. Symbols that represent one of the same sounds as in Portuguese:

g	[g]	Never [ʒ] as in CP
r	[ɾ]	Usually not a trill, e.g., [ʁ] as in CP, nor [h] as in Brazilian
s	[s]	Never [z], [ʒ], or [ʃ] as in CP
z	[z]	Never [ʒ] or [ʃ] as in CP

3. Symbols that (may) represent different sounds than in Portuguese:

b	[β]	When in contrast with [b], which would be spelled **bh**
c	[ʧ]	Never [k] or [s] as in CP
ch	[ʧʰ]	Never [ʃ] as in CP
d	[ɗ]	When in contrast with [d], which would be spelled **dh**
h	[h]/[ɦ]	Never silent as in CP
j	[ʤ]	Sometimes [ʒ] as in CP; never spelled **g**
lh	[ʪ]	Never [ʃ] as in CP
nh	[nʰ]	"Aspirated/breathy" [n], never [ɲ] as in CP
q	Click	Never [k] as in CP
v	[ʋ]	When in contrast with [v], which would be spelled **vh**
x	[ʃ]	Never [s], [z], or [ks] as in CP. May also be spelled **sh**

4. Sounds that also exist in Portuguese but with different symbols:

bh [b] When in contrast with [ɓ], which would be spelled **b**

dh [d] When in contrast with [ɗ], which would be spelled **d**

jh [ʒ] In contrast with [ʤ] which is spelled **j**. May also be spelled **zh**

k [k] Never spelled **c** or **qu** as in CP

ny [ɲ] Never spelled **nh** as in CP

sh [ʃ] Never spelled **ch** as in CP, may be spelled **x**

vh [v] When in contrast with [ʋ] which would be spelled **v**

w [w] Never spelled **u** as in CP

y [j] Never spelled **i** as in CP

zh [ʒ] In contrast with [ʤ] which is spelled **j**. May also be spelled **jh**

5. Neither Symbol nor sound is used in Portuguese:

bv [bv] Voiced labial affricate

bz [bʐ] Voiced rounded retroflexed alveolar affricate

dl [dɮ] Voiced lateral affricate

dz [dz] Voiced alveolar affricate

dzv [dʐ] Voiced retroflexed alveolar affricate

hl [ɬ] Voiceless lateral fricative

kh [k^h] Aspirated [k]

mh [m^h] "Aspirated/breathy" [m]

ng/ng'/n' [ŋ] Velar nasal (**ng** may also be a prenasalized voiced velar stop)

pf [pf] Voiceless labial affricate

ph [p^h] Aspirated [p], never [f] as in English

ps [pʂ] Voiceless rounded retroflexed alveolar affricate

sv [ʂ] Voiceless retroflexed alveolar fricative

th [t^h] Aspirated [t], never an interdental fricative as in English

tl [tɬ] Voiceless lateral affricate

ts [ts] Voiceless alveolar affricate

tsv [tʂ] Voiceless retroflexed alveolar affricate

tt	[ʈ]	Voiceless retroflexed alveolar stop (e.g., in Makhuwa)
tth	[ʈʰ]	Aspirated [ʈ]
zv	[ʐ]	Voiced retroflexed alveolar fricative

C. Modifications:

VV /V:/	Lengthened vowel (eg. **aa**, **ee**, **ii**, **oo**, **uu**)
mC /ᵐC/	Prenasalization before **p**, **b**, **f**, **v**
nC /ⁿC/	Prenasalization before **t**, **d**, **s**, **z**, **c**, **j**, **k**, **g**
Cw/Cʷ/	Labialization and/or Velarization (e.g., Shona languages)
Cy /Cʲ/	Palatalization (phonetic realization may be quite varied)
Ch /Cʰ/	Aspiration/breathy voice (e.g., Shona languages)

Notes on Literacy 27.3:43–50.

REVIEWS

Coles, Gerald. 2000. *Misreading reading: The bad science that hurts children*. Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann. Pp. xix, 138. ISBN 0-325-00060-3. Paper, $16.00.

Pressley, Michael. 1998. *Reading instruction that works: The case for balanced teaching*. New York: Guilford Press. Pp. 298. ISBN 1-57230-319-0. Paper, $28.00.

Reviewed by Donna W. Bowling

The reading debate goes on. Recent works by two educational psychologists bring some light to the heat of battle over beginning reading instruction.

Misreading Reading

Gerald Coles, the author of several works on literacy and learning disabilities, has taught at the university and medical school levels. In *Misreading Reading*, he discusses research studies cited by proponents of skills-emphasis in reading instruction to see "whether this research does, in fact, provide a scientific repudiation of whole language." Coles carefully studied the published reports of several research studies often cited by skills-emphasis advocates. When possible, he examined original research data that were not included in the published results. In Coles' introduction, he sketches some of the recent history of the reading debate and his own increasing awareness and concern about the quality of research which has been used to support the skills-emphasis ("phonics first") position and subsequent political decisions in the United States that favor such reading instruction.

In each of the ten chapters Coles focuses on one "claim" proposed by supporters of intensive phonics. On the page facing the beginning of each chapter he offers his wording of the proposed "claim," followed by a few alternative statements of "what the research actually shows." Within each chapter the author presents one or more major "supporting" studies, detailing shortcomings he found in the design or conclusions from that research report. "Chief among these claims are the following:

- Phonemic awareness is the chief causal influence in learning to read.
- Skills-training programs facilitate learning to read and remediate reading problems.

- Research has demonstrated the superiority of skills-emphasis over whole-language instruction.
- The effectiveness of a widely acclaimed skills-emphasis reading program has been demonstrated in published research.
- A brain 'glitch' associated with phonemic awareness is responsible for the reading problems of many children.
- Phonemic awareness problems can be traced to genetic causes."

The ongoing reading debate was stimulated in the 1950s by the impact of the provocative publication of Rudolf Flesch's *Why Johnny Can't Read*. From his own strong whole-language bias, Coles has examined in detail research reported by such major skills-emphasis authors as: Jeanne Chall, Keith Stanovich, G. Reid Lyon of NICHD (National Institute of Child Health and Human Development), Louisa Moats, Barbara Foorman, Marilyn Adams, Ingvar Lundberg, Brian Byrne and Ruth Fielding-Barnsley, Sally Shaywitz, and Lon Cardon, among others. Among the defects he found in their reports were:

- "Use of particular explanations (theories) of learning to read that lead researchers to ask certain questions and omit others that might have offered more illumination;
- Confusion of correlation with causation by not examining what might cause a purported 'cause';
- Confusion of information with explanation;
- Transformation of insufficient data into 'meaningful' conclusions;
- Rare use of meaningful control comparison groups to compare how phonemic and related skills could be learned in ways other than by direct, explicit instruction;
- Narrow focus on instruction and the disregard for all else inside and outside schools that influences teaching and learning outcomes; . . .
- Frequent use of measures that insufficiently represented 'reading'."

Several of the criticisms raised by Coles in his discussions of the various research reports have some scientific merit, and should be taken into account when evaluating the usefulness of those reports. However, the existence of these possible research flaws does not automatically prove that skills-emphasis instruction "hurts children" and that the alternative of whole-language instruction that opposes phonics is therefore superior. Coles deliberately chooses to leave any discussion of research supporting a whole-language model for another book. He dismisses proposals for "a

'balanced approach' that includes 'good literature' and 'reading for enjoyment'" as lip service only, because of the greater attention given in those publications to "explicit teaching of phonics."

Advocates of both whole-language and explicit-phonics instructional models have recognized that students from lower socio-economic situations are more likely to lack rich prior experiences with literature, and therefore often have more difficulty in learning to read. Skills-emphasis educators concentrate on the resultant lack of phonemic awareness to remedy that disadvantage for those students. Instead of accepting such an unequal status quo, Coles believes that a better solution is for American society to correct this unjust social situation so that all children will come to school with rich literacy backgrounds. But in this small book he suggests no practical steps to accomplish this.

Reading Instruction that Works

Michael Pressley, author of *Reading Instruction that Works*, has been heavily involved in research on effective reading instruction. Like Coles, he is a university professor with many publications and several research awards on his vita. He also serves as editor of a professional journal. In this book, he sets out to make the case "for a balanced perspective on reading instruction, rather than stressing either a whole-language or skills-first orientation." Beginning with his introduction, he presents his positions with support from his own experience and extensive review of the literature that informed his personal research activities with his colleagues.

Chapter 1 discusses whole language. Although there are varying definitions of whole language, in practice most emphasize the importance of immersion in reading quality children's literature by students (with teachers, other students, and independently) and daily writing experiences. Some whole-language proponents object to any formal instruction in phonics (stating "it's not necessary"), while others suggest incorporating phonics instruction only on the basis of need within the context of authentic reading and writing activities. Pressley cites research reports that indicate several positive reading results from whole-language instruction, along with weaknesses primarily in decoding skills. Some opposition to explicit phonics instruction comes from political concerns.

Chapter 2 on skilled reading includes reports on research with skilled adult readers. It begins with letter- and word-level processes, examined by analysis of eye movements and decontextualized word recognition. Pressley's further studies of comprehension indicate that "skilled reading is a coordination of higher-order processes (e.g., comprehension) and lower-order processes (e.g., decoding)." In particular, good readers begin with

decoding cues and use meaning cues to confirm their understandings, rather than vice versa.

In contrast, chapter 3 deals with children who experience problems in learning to read. Poor readers have difficulties in identifying, segmenting, and/or blending sounds to produce words. Difficulty in automaticity in decoding impedes comprehension. On occasion, biological factors such as brain structure or other genetic characteristics may contribute to developmental dyslexia.

Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 concentrate on the development of literacy. Literacy development begins at birth, and playful, verbal preschool experiences have a strong influence on reading and writing abilities. Secure attachment relationships at home with social interactive language and storybook reading experiences strengthen children's preparation for reading on their own. Parental teaching of letters and their sounds contributes to phonemic awareness.

Learning to recognize words proceeds from logographic reading, through alphabetic reading, then sight-word reading, and reading by analogy to known words. Using recent research reports, Pressley presents effective methods for teaching students to sound out words and to read new words by analogy to known words. His extensive study of expert primary-level teaching of literacy demonstrated the value of balanced teaching which is engaging, incorporating both systematic skills instruction and immersion in authentic reading and writing experiences.

The need for increased comprehension instruction in upper elementary grades has stimulated research into methods of teaching comprehension strategies. Direct explanation, reciprocal teaching, and transactional comprehension strategies instruction contribute to students' effective self-regulation in constructing meaning from their reading. The chapter on motivation and literacy points out the effect of attribution on decline in academic enthusiasm and draws from whole-language philosophy the motivational value of literature-based activities.

In his final chapter "Concluding Reflections," Pressley likens early reading instruction to Little League practice. Specific skills instruction is needed before playing the game and throughout the playing season, but the game gives context to bring meaning to the skills learned. Both ongoing skills instruction and extensive real reading are needed for the most effective results. In his "ten dumb and dangerous claims about reading instruction," Pressley points out certain errors made by some advocates of phonics and whole language, but he rejects the view that "skills instruction and whole language are incompatible." The appendix lists "landmarks in development of literacy competence (or what happens when)," from infancy to beyond the elementary years.

Pressley's reasoned approach, grounded in his own research and that of others, incorporates elements from both systematic-skills instruction and whole-language models. In addition to early decoding skills, he emphasizes the ongoing need for instruction in comprehension strategies at the upper levels. Two common, but unsubstantiated, elements in some whole-language rhetoric that Pressley would like to see eliminated are: all anti-skills sentiment and "arguments that reading and writing develop analogously to oral language."

Comparison

These books differ markedly in tone as well as size. Pressley's book is accessible to interested, informed citizens, and could be useful as a textbook in reading methods with pre-service and in-service teachers. Although the whole-language and skills-emphasis models are often in conflict, Pressley's third model of balanced teaching draws from the strengths of these two models, integrated and enriched by his own insights—particularly in the area of instruction in comprehension strategies. He takes a positive, generally conciliatory tone, reporting what actually works in effective reading instruction. However, he does not hesitate to point out weaknesses in the other models' approachs, when relevant. As a reviewer, I found this book enjoyable, helpful, and convincing.

Coles' smaller book raises red flags of warning and is adversarial in tone. It points to flaws in some pro-phonics research, but fails to show why or how whole language is preferred. The political concerns expressed in the final chapter may explain Coles' failure to acknowledge the viability of a "balanced approach" that incorporates elements from both models. As a reviewer, I agreed with much of Coles' scientific concerns, but I was frequently frustrated by his seeming blindness to any value in the alternative position. Both books have generous bibliographical references for follow-up study.

Bhola, H. S. 1990. *Evaluating "Literacy for development" projects, programs, and campaigns: Evaluation planning, design and implementation, and utilization of evaluation results.* Hamberg: Unesco Institute for Education; Bonn: German Foundation for International Development.

Reviewed by Mary Morgan

This book by H. S. Bhola, a member of the SIL Literacy Board, is a one of a kind, comprehensive treatment of evaluation theory, planning, and practice with focus on literacy programs in the developing world. It is written for literacy workers, but has implications for all types of development workers. There is information for administrators, practitioners, and recipients.

The discussion of theoretical approaches in Part I is thorough and clearly written. In this section, chapter 1 has definitions of evaluation, along with contexts, objectives, and functions of evaluation. Chapter 2 looks at paradigms and models of evaluation.

Part II has two chapters on evaluation planning and management, and Part III has four chapters on developing a management information system (MIS). "To plan is to choose. Evaluation planning is to choose from among the many possible evaluation questions. To generate a set of significant questions, system thinking is necessary" (p. 53). Sixty-six pages are dedicated to the topic of MIS, including writing a proposal and a close look at the tools and techniques of implementing an MIS.

Part IV contains four chapters on evaluation in the naturalistic mode including writing a proposal, the tools and techniques, and writing reports. "According to the naturalistic paradigm, all reality is not "out there" for everyone to see and record. Reality is a "social construction." In other words, as individuals, we construct our own individual realities; and we all carry our own special meanings about the world inside ourselves" (p. 155). The naturalistic evaluator recognizes the subjective nature of all evaluation and research and uses participatory techniques along with negotiation and collaboration to get and analyze data.

Part V has four chapters dedicated to doing an evaluation in the rationalistic mode. This "model makes a particular set of assumptions about reality that include reductionism (that complex social reality can be reduced to simpler aspects for study) and universalism (that universal laws of human behavior can be found that hold true independently of context)" (p. 195). Up until the last 20 years most evaluations were made in this mode, and

some institutions may still require them. This treatment of rationalistic evaluation is covered well and includes writing reports and promoting utilization of results.

Part VI contains three chapters that deal with concerns relating to evaluation, including the politics of evaluation and evaluation training in the Third World.

This book is over ten years old, but as relevant as ever. As Bhola states: "evaluation means assigning values to judge the amount, degree, condition, worth, quality, or effectiveness of something" (p. 9). Many of us have planned and implemented language programs with little or no understanding of how evaluation works and how it can be a part of both planning and implementation. The models we studied a decade or two ago were based on evaluation in the Western world and fit neither the culture nor the context in which we worked. Those of us who studied evaluation were introduced to the rationalistic model. Bhola says,

> Successes of logical positivism (or the rationalistic paradigm) have been spectacular....Social scientists, to partake of the glory, mimicked the physical scientists and started using the so-called scientific paradigm, almost to the exclusion of anything else. The magic of the positivist paradigm is finally breaking, and we are beginning to understand that social reality does not fit the rationalist paradigm very well. Individual behavior does not always tell us much about behavior among groups or within organizations. There are "emergent' properties within wholes which cannot be explained in terms of constituent parts. Conversely, we are understanding that complex phenomena cannot be reduced to simpler aspects for study and then put together as if nothing was lost. The very nature of these phenomena changes as these are fragmented and factored through such reductions. (p. 195)

I wish I had had just the first two chapters of Bhola's book on what evaluation is, the paradigms and models, when I was working in Southern Mexico in the 1960s and '70s.

Whenever we tried controlled tests and random sampling in a village setting, we found too many variables and uncertainty. So we employed other tools and techniques that worked, not realizing how appropriate and effective they actually were, and still are. Informal interviews, group discussions, field observations, watching how people handled written materials (unobstrusive measures), and reflective journals were used, but not considered as "real" evaluation because they were all subjective by nature. Bhola explains how this subjective information is a part of the naturalistic evaluation approach and is invaluable in understanding what is and is not being learned in a literacy program. These chapters are now on the reading

list of the Literacy Megacourse. Bhola's discussion contrasting the rationalistic and naturalistic approaches to research and evaluation is one of the clearest I have seen. There are charts on pages 31 to 33 that summarize the differences and indicate where each type is appropriately employed.

The heart of Bhola's book is the suggestion that a Management Information System (MIS) will serve to provide a language program with information needed for effective decision making. In a nutshell, the MIS structures a program as a system for storing data with four parameters: (1) inputs (learners, trainers, materials), (2) processes (instructional processes), (3) outputs (new knowledge, better homes, individual and national development, etc.), and (4) contexts (literacy groups).

> Indicators should be developed for variables that are not directly seen; sources of data should be identified; a paper or pen (or computerized) storage and retrieval system should be developed; and a routine about periodicity of data inputs and reporting to decision-makers should be put in place. (p. 78)

With the MIS, both qualitative and quantitative approaches are used when appropriate. The point of the MIS is to provide for informed decision making.

An MIS for a program can answer questions about program size and structure. It can look at comparisons and differences over time. It can make correlations between aspects of a program such as achievement in literacy and numeracy. It can look at the impact of a program on quality of life, political participation, and community health.

In the three practical aspects of evaluation—developing an MIS, doing a naturalistic evaluation, or a rationalistic evaluation—Bhola provides step-by-step things to do with examples from actual programs. I know of no other book that combines theory with application in Third World situations as clearly and effectively as this one. This is both a resource book on theory as well as a how-to-do-it book for local people and outsiders. Be sure there is a copy in your entity or personal library!

NOTES ON *LITERACY*

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NOTES ON LITERACY

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From the Editor

Carole Spaeth

Correction

Dr. Ronald Anderson, whom some of you may recognize as a former editor of *Notes on Literacy*, was responsible for compiling all of the information that appeared in *Notes on Literacy* 27.2. Unfortunately, in the final printing, Dr. Anderson was not given credit for all of his labors in putting together this most useful "Cumulative Index," covering information from 1966 to 2001. We offer our sincere apologies to Dr. Anderson for this omission.

Notes on Literacy 27.4:5–18.

Training Nationals in Literature Production: An Experience in Northwestern Benin

JeDene Reeder and Edith L. White

JeDene Reeder obtained her bachelor's degree in elementary education from Oral Roberts University in 1983 and her master's degree in linguistics from the University of Texas at Arlington in 1998. She was an MK teacher in Peru with SIL 1984–1986, and became an SIL member in 1990. She worked from 1993–1996 in what is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the Pagibete language project, and from 1998 to the present in Togo and Benin as branch literacy coordinator and consultant.

Edith L. White holds a master's degree in French from the University of Wisconsin (1966), a master's degree in German from Middlebury College through the Johannes-Gutenberg Universität (1980), a B.S. in medical science from the University of Wisconsin (1963), and a three-year diploma from Milwaukee Bible College. She taught in Benin with Peace Corps (1970–1972), was a guest helper with SIL in Cameroon in 1988, and is now a member working as a literacy specialist in the Togo-Benin entity since 1998.

Introduction

Most reference materials to local language writers' workshops typical of SIL literacy work, such as *Notes on Literacy* articles (Gluck 1985, Kondo and Walter 1990, Kondo 1991, McNees 1992) and *Bootstrap Literature* (Wendell 1982) assume the presence of (SIL) linguists who act as reference people or even guides to the writing process. However, the increasing organizational emphasis upon interdependent partnerships means that we may find ourselves asked to do writers' workshops for languages where there is no linguist. This is, in fact, what happened to the Northern Benin Literacy Team (NBLT), a regional literacy team based in the Atacora Department of Northwestern Benin.

In mid-1999 this team was asked by the regional association of linguistic commissions to train local people in both authoring texts and adapting materials (especially those related to development). A series of three workshops was agreed upon: a writers' workshop, held in October 1999; an editing workshop, held in November 1999; and a translation and adaptation workshop, held in January 2000. The editing workshop was actually more an extension of the writers' workshop than an independent session, for it

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directly built upon skills and knowledge developed in the first, and participants were required to have attended the writers' workshop in order to come to the editing workshop. It is these two workshops which will be described in this article.

Background

Nine different language groups live in the northwestern corner of the Atacora *département,* a region of low mountains and plains. Seven of them have formed an umbrella organization, the *Association Corporative des Commissions Linguistiques de la Zone Nord-Ouest de l'Atacora,* (ACCL/ ZNOA, the Corporate Association of Linguistic Commissions of the Northwestern Zone of the Atacora, often referred to simply as the "Association"). Through this organization they work together to more effectively promote the development of their languages.

The government of Benin has been in favor of the development of all of its fifty-two languages. As a result, it has established a literacy office in each department. Under the regional director who heads this office, there is a literacy coordinator for each sub-prefecture, the next smallest administrative unit in a department. As part of this system each language group has formed a *commission linguistique* (linguistic commission) to promote the development of its language. These commissions encourage linguistic analysis, make decisions about orthography, organize literacy campaigns, and produce literature as possible.

The seven language commissions that have come together to form the Association are Byali, Ditammari, Fulfulde, Gangam, Mbelime, Nateni, and Waama. All but Fulfulde are members of the Gur family of languages. These languages are at various stages of development. In Waama, Nateni, Ditammari, and Fulfulde the orthography is well established. A few orthography questions are still to be resolved in Gangam and Mbelime. A preliminary orthography exists for Byali, but many decisions as to how to represent the language are yet to be made. The amount of literature available in these languages ranges from virtually nothing to a very limited number of titles. SIM (Serving in Mission, or in French, *Société Internationale Missionaire)* works with Ditammari and Fulfulde. SIL is working with the other five commissions.

A notable achievement of the Association has been the creation of a Center for the Production of Literature in Local Languages (*Centre de Production des Documents en Langues Nationales* or the Literature Production Center). It is unlikely that any of these relatively small language groups would have been able to envisage or establish such a center for their language

alone. SIL has been instrumental in its establishment, providing initial funding for the materials and equipment, and training the manager, a university graduate. SIL literacy specialists remain available to help and advise as needed. SIL has also helped the linguistic commissions fund the printing of some of the documents that are produced there.

Goals

The main goal for the writers' and editing workshops was to lay a foundation for increasing the amount of literature available in each of the seven languages. A secondary goal was to increase awareness of orthography issues, since several of the languages have unresolved difficulties with their orthographies.

However, a one-time production spree will not have much of a lasting effect in establishing a culture of literacy. In order to reach the goal of sustainable literature production, it is necessary to train people in the skills of writing, editing, page layout, and book assembly, and then to equip them to pass their knowledge and skills on to others. This, then, is what we set out to do.

Strategies

A working (not fluent) level of French was required of workshop participants, as that was the language of instruction and intergroup communication. We used Margaret Hill's *Manuel de Rédaction* (1991)[1] as our basic text for the writers' workshop. Before the workshops started, we decided that each of us would focus on working with one language group, for the most part based on previous personal contact with that group. However, in practice, the writers' workshop coordinator and the center manager found themselves occupied with other duties, and the rest of us became "roving facilitators."

Because of our desire that these participants would go on to teach the material in their home areas, we deliberately tried to avoid using resources that would be unavailable to them in those settings. The setting for the two workshops was a *paillote* (a shelter somewhat like a gazebo) at the Literature Production Center. Among the ways we kept it simple were simple furnishings (benches and only 3 student-style desks, since tables of good writing height are unlikely to be available in the villages) and a chalkboard as the only instructional medium used. We also tried to keep photocopied

[1]The schedules for the two workshops are found in appendices A and B.

handouts to a minimum. For small group work, the participants spread out around the compound of the Literature Production Center, sitting on benches carried out from the *paillote* or on felled trees.

Writers' workshop

During the writers' workshop, the morning learning time was devoted to presentations based on chapters of the textbook. In order to ensure that all the participants understood the presentation, time was given afterwards for teams to "paraphrase" the lesson to each other in their own language. This was also a way by which we hoped to make them comfortable enough with the material that they would have no qualms about teaching it themselves in their home areas. While we expatriates could not evaluate what was said, we did stay with the groups to answer questions when they found they had not understood something well enough to put it into their language.

Each morning's lesson was followed by a written exercise. As part of their practice in critiquing their own and others' work, time was allowed for them to listen to other members of their language group read what they had written in order to give feedback. We had originally thought that that would be sufficient for them; however, several participants commented that they wanted to get feedback (on content) from the course staff. So we began circulating during the reading aloud time, and they orally paraphrased or translated their stories for us.

We also had some supplemental presentations during the writers' workshop which did not grow out of Hill's book. These included both large and small group exercises and were geared towards early stages of editing. Two of these presentations were based upon lessons developed by our only staff member who had had previous experience with leading writers' workshops.

Each day ended with us all gathering for an evaluation of the day's activities. During this time, the morning's presenter asked questions of the participants to help evaluate how helpful the presentation and related activities had been. This proved to be quite useful in improving communication between staff and participants. Also during this time, a designated group read one or more of their stories and then translated it for those who did not understand their language. The participants enjoyed doing this.

The Saturday morning between the two weeks of the writers' workshop had a very different schedule. Two main activities were scheduled: learning how to assemble a book and a discussion on health issues in the region, including exercises. These activities were preparation for the lesson on books that teach (Hill 1991: chapter 6). All the participants were together for the first half hour, while the health presenter, a nurse who is also a member of the NBLT, led the discussion and explained the exercise. The rest of the morning,

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except for the time spent assembling books in the Literature Production Center, was spent in developing information grids for the three or four diseases or health problems identified by each language group as most serious in their area.

They were divided into four groups for going into the work area of the Literature Production Center (six people at a time being the maximum for comfort). There, the center manager showed them how to assemble, staple, and trim books. They then practiced on copies of the textbook, which had been reprinted for the workshop. Now, when a language commission sends a book in to be printed at the Center, at least one of these trained participants will be expected to come and help in this phase of the printing process.

At the end of the writers' workshop, the participants were told that when they returned, they should each bring the story they considered their "best." During the three-week interval, they were to read their stories to others in the village, to get more feedback. Also, they were to get illustrations for the story they would be working on during the editing workshop.

Editing workshop

We developed our own lessons for the editing workshop. Each of us had a presentation with both small and large group exercises. The time element was much trickier to judge, and by the end of the first day it was evident that our "published" schedule would have to be revised. Originally, the page layout presentation was scheduled for Wednesday, but no one had edited their manuscript to that stage by then, so we switched that presentation with that of the characteristics of an editor.

During the writers' workshop final course evaluation discussion, several participants indicated they wished we had had a daily review session. Consequently, we added this to the editing workshop. Each day a participant volunteered to be the one to give the résumé for the following day. This worked quite well.

In order to highlight orthography issues common to languages in the area, we invited speakers to come and discuss how and why decisions were made for the Nateni and Mbelime orthographies. The way in which dialect differences were resolved in each situation tended to generate the most comments from the participants.

Because so little has been published in these languages, we decided it would be good for each group to develop their own stylebook. This also helped increase awareness of the importance of punctuation and capitalization in editing, as well as other orthographic concerns such as the writing of clitics. We discussed the fact that different languages may have different

conventions for punctuation and capitalization, using French and English. The Dioula-Fogny stylebook (Gero et al. 1999) was used as a model for setting up their stylebooks, which they did in their notebooks.

Few of these projects have access to computers in their home locations, so we had to find a way to teach them how to do page layout by hand so that someone else could put it in the computer and still have it the length that was planned. The presenter of that session developed a way for them to do this using the grid of the regular notebook paper found in French-speaking areas.

Each participant was then instructed to get his work in print form, either on a typewriter or on a computer, so that he could practice proofreading printed text. We borrowed two manual typewriters with special characters from the Gangam project for the workshop, (although these only had the complete set for two of the languages). In addition, the Literature Production Center's portable computer was available, as were the personal computers of some of the workshop staff. As part of the training in independent production, none of the staff volunteered to enter the stories. However, *if* a participant took the initiative to ask, we were willing to do so. Some did; others typed (some for the very first time), while one or two with computer experience entered their own stories.

Few participants had completed the editing process by the end of the workshop. In order to print their stories, each group arranged a time during the next two months with the center manager to come in and work on the final page layout and printing.

Evaluation

These workshops seemed to meet a perceived need and correspond to what the participants wanted. They responded with great enthusiasm to what they were being taught and were pleased with their progress. They said things such as:

"Now I feel like a real writer."

"Now I know that I am a man who can do something."

"I am filled with joy because I know that we will have books in our language. Before all we had was primers."

"I started out writing stories of only one page. Now I can easily write six pages."

The participants were also pleased with the style of the presentations, which allowed for interaction. Their participation was requested and treated with respect; and every presentation was followed with activities in

which they applied the lesson. One man said: "If we had had teaching like this in primary school, we would have learned something. There they presented something, said, 'Understood?' and went right on. I feel now as though I could return to school!"

The participants clearly gained competence and confidence. Another evidence of their positive reaction was the fact that everyone was there every day, punctually, and everyone from the writers' workshop returned for the editing workshop.

Staffing

The number of presenters was quite large: six expatriates and three Beninese gave one or more presentations. This kept any one person from carrying too much of the load. It also meant that staff could circulate and be available to guide and encourage individuals and groups as they worked.

Involvement of inexperienced, but relatively well educated, Beninese as staff members served as an indirect way of equipping them for more responsible roles in literacy. The exact nature of their role in the workshops was somewhat unclear both to them and to the expatriate SIL staff members at first. However, as the workshops progressed, their roles became better defined. In the case of one of them, in areas in which he had something to learn or in which he needed practice, he was also a participant.

As anticipated, their presence on the team was a real plus. It meant that there were at least two staff members who each understood one of the languages of the participants. They had a better idea than the SIL staff of how those particular language groups were doing in their writing and were probably in a better position to guide them. They were also very valuable in advising the SIL staff with respect to cross-cultural issues, both large and small.

Language barriers

The SIL staff was, for all practical purposes, unable to speak or understand the mother tongues of the participants. We could not judge the writing for ourselves to see how closely the participants were following what they had been taught. Sometimes the staff asked for oral translation into French, but this was not as useful as one might expect. Details that might allow someone to judge the quality of the writing were left out, or a very nice writing style in the local language might be translated only awkwardly into French. However, we did not feel that the workshops were seriously limited in their effectiveness because we could not speak these languages. We already had recognized that there is a danger that one culture may impose its ideas of good writing and style on another. In these workshops the texts were more likely to be culturally authentic, because the expatriates were unable to urge

changes that would only be suitable in western forms of writing. In order to encourage culturally appropriate writing styles, we sometimes reminded participants to adapt what they were being taught to their own culture.

Paraphrasing

The time devoted to paraphrasing the lesson in the local languages was extremely beneficial. It was effective in helping participants understand the material and in consolidating it in their minds. They were able to consider how to express any unfamiliar concepts in their language, things for which there might not yet exist a specific word. The daily paraphrase segment was also intended to allow participants time for practice teaching the lesson within their language groups in preparation for the time when, at home, they would teach writing and editing skills to others in their own language. They did not usually do this part of the exercise but were content with simply reviewing or explaining the lesson to the others in their group. However, this, in itself, was very profitable. Because of time pressures we did not insist on the practice teaching.

Orthography and grammar

The presentations on orthography and grammar were another helpful aspect of the workshop. For those whose orthographies are still being developed, the presentations gave them the opportunity to see how other language groups had arrived at their various orthographic decisions. This allowed them insights into possible solutions to their own problems and made them more understanding of the various things that have to be considered in making decisions. Those whose languages have established orthographies also benefited. They were intrigued as they gained insight into why their languages are written the way they are, and they will be better able to support the decisions made.

Logistics and handling of finances

In setting up the finances for the workshops, the funds were put into the hands of the Association. They decided on the per diem, the arrangements for lodging, food, and transportation for the participants, the location of the workshops, and the material; plus they sent out the invitations.

This arrangement saved the staff lots of time, spared them the handling of money, and prevented bad feeling between them and dissatisfied participants. Complaints were relayed to the Association, whose duty it was to deal with them.

In fact, the Association's handling of these arrangements was one of the weaknesses of the workshops. The place where the participants slept had

no water nearby, and, initially, no way to transport or store any was provided. There were no lamps at first and later only one or two. There were not enough mats for everyone to sleep on until well into the first workshop. Participants who arrived before the first morning of the workshop found that no arrangements had been made for them and ended up sleeping in the market for two nights. Between the workshops the Association made almost no changes, although they knew what the complaints were. This resulted in even more complaints. Also, participants were incensed when they learned that there was no provision to help pay for treatment of those who got sick during the workshops.

In spite of this weakness, it is certain that we would again ask the Association to handle the finances. This is not only because it was a great relief to the staff not to have to deal with the logistics, but perhaps more importantly, because it is an essential step in giving nationals experience in running their own programs.

Keeping things simple and reproducible

Keeping things simple and reproducible generally worked out well on several levels. The lowering of expectations as to what would be provided for participants was at least as important for the staff as for the participants. Some staff members found themselves protesting, "We can't use the *paillote* at the Literature Production Center as a classroom. It's too small! Besides the participants are going to be doing a lot of writing. They need desks or tables to write on. Not only that, there must be extra rooms to meet in when the participants go off to work in their language groups!" These staff members were told that it would be counterproductive to provide all these things. Participants might go away thinking that to be real writers they needed a desk and a chair, and maybe even a special room to work in. These they would not have back home, and as a result they might not continue to write.

When the workshop got underway, we found that the participants seemed quite happy to meet in the *paillote* and found nothing amiss as eight of them squeezed in at the three available desks and the rest sat on benches or chairs. No complaint was heard as they went out to write or work in language groups under the trees, sitting on logs or benches. They wrote quite nicely on their laps or on another chair or bench.

The fact that the workshops were held on the grounds of the Literature Production Center had a further advantage: when participants want work printed in the future, they will likely feel comfortable coming there because it is familiar to them and because they now know the manager.

Finding the right balance between efficiency and cultural appropriateness for the handouts was difficult. As mentioned earlier, there were not many handouts. Only one or two of the language groups live near where they would be able to photocopy materials. The distance and the cost mean this would rarely be an option for most of them. Things were written on the board and then copied carefully by the participants into their copybooks. While this had the advantage of putting all course material together in the copybook instead of partly on separate, loose, and easily misplaced sheets of paper, it also took a tremendous amount of time. Some of the staff found themselves wishing this time could be used instead for writing or editing texts. This is an area that will need further evaluation and/or experimentation.

Printing participants' texts

The staff felt it was important for the participants to return from the workshops with one of their texts in print and ready for distribution, as that would give the participants great satisfaction and provide them with something concrete to show to the Language Commission that had sent them. It would also encourage them and build their self-confidence. As was said earlier, no group had finished the editing and page layout process by the end of the workshop, and all made appointments to return to the Literature Production Center for the final stages of publication. Money remaining in the budget was used to pay for their travel to and from the Center for the printing. In this way participants had to be responsible for the final steps. Within a few weeks of the end of the workshops five groups had come and had their stories printed. A year later, two groups still have not done so, including the group that lives the closest to the Center.

This solution to the potential problems of producing the booklets proved quite satisfactory. The participants each had a text printed (with the exception of the groups which did not follow through), and in the process gained valuable experience by having to take the initiative to go through the final steps on their own. This should give these new authors confidence when they next have something they want published.

Length of the editing workshop

It became clear shortly before the editing workshop began that a week (four working days) was nowhere near long enough to present and put into practice all that was needful. This became even clearer once the workshop began, as noted earlier. Besides presentations taking longer than anticipated, working through all the steps in editing also took the participants longer than had been hoped. It would have been helpful if there had been time for the participants to repeat the process with a second or third text to consolidate what they were only just beginning to learn. As it was, by the

end, most were only just barely reaching a point where their one and only text was ready to be entered in the computer. A concern we have is that not having enough time for finishing all steps necessary for preparing a manuscript may have given the unintended message that doing all that was not so important after all, and may affect what they do at home.

In the future, the staff would schedule a two-week editing workshop to cover what we attempted to do in one.

Passing on what was learned

An important aim of this set of workshops was to prepare the participants to hold writing and editing workshops in their own languages for people at home. A year later, to our knowledge, only one of the seven language groups has done this, holding a two-day workshop. We had hoped for more.

The staff felt, and still feels, that the individual language commissions should be the ones to take the initiative in organizing these workshops. We did express to the participants SIL's willingness to help. Some of the participants said that for local workshops to happen it would probably take a push from SIL. We chose not to give that push. What could still be done is to visit the participants and their language commissions to encourage them in general. At that time we could express ways we could and could not help if they should decide to offer the workshops on the local level.

Other challenges

Although we had access to Margaret Hill's excellent *Manuel de Rédaction* for the writer's workshop, we did not know of any similar resource for the editing workshop. A major factor in the success of the workshops was all the help we received from others working in adult literacy around the world, who responded generously and promptly to our call for help, sending materials they had created or used, and telling us about other people to contact.

Conclusion

We were very encouraged by these two workshops. They provided valuable experience for the SIL members in working with national staff in the training of nationals. Even though there was a lack of linguists to work with the participants of the respective language groups, we did not feel that this was a problem.

Our goals of laying a foundation for futuré literature production by training nationals in the various necessary skills and by increasing their confidence

in their ability to pass on this knowledge to others were generally met. We had hoped for more concrete results in the form of literature production and local writers' workshops, but we believe that with better follow-up these will occur. Even so, many of these participants are continuing to use what they learned, in writing, in editing, and in book assembly. While partnering with the commission and our national staff had its challenges, its positive aspects outweighed the difficulties, and we look forward to repeating the experience.

Appendix A: Writers' Workshop Schedule

First week

<table>
<tr><th>Time</th><th>Monday</th><th>Tuesday</th><th>Wednesday</th><th>Thursday</th><th>Friday</th><th>Saturday</th></tr>
<tr><td>8:00-8:30</td><td rowspan="5">Arrivals and opening ceremony</td><td colspan="5">Devotions (study of 1 Peter)</td></tr>
<tr><td>8:30-9:30</td><td>Topic: Chap. 2</td><td>Topic: Chap. 3</td><td>Topic: Chap. 4</td><td>Topic: Chap. 5</td><td>Health/ Printing</td></tr>
<tr><td>9:30-10:00</td><td colspan="5">Breakfast</td></tr>
<tr><td>10:00-11:00</td><td colspan="4">Time in small groups to paraphrase the presentation topic in the mother tongue</td><td rowspan="3">Health/ Printing</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">11:00-13:00</td><td rowspan="2">Chap. 2 exercises</td><td colspan="3">Time to write</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Read aloud to small group for feedback</td></tr>
<tr><td>13:00-15:00</td><td colspan="6">Lunch and rest</td></tr>
<tr><td>15:00-16:00</td><td>Topic: Motivation to write</td><td>Topic: Critiquing in a helpful way</td><td>Time to write</td><td>Topic: Improving a story</td><td>Free time</td><td rowspan="3">Free time</td></tr>
<tr><td>16:00-17:30</td><td>Writing: exercises of Chp. 1</td><td>Read aloud work to small group</td><td>Read aloud work to small group</td><td>Time to write, read aloud</td><td>Time to write, read aloud</td></tr>
<tr><td>17:30-18:00</td><td colspan="5">Daily evaluation and presentation by one language team of their "best" writing of the day</td></tr>
</table>

Second week

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8:00-8:30	Devotions				
8:30-9:30	Chapter 6	Chapter 7	Chapter 8	Chapter 14	Course evaluation
9:30-10:00	Breakfast				
10:00-11:00	Time to paraphrase			Chapters 16 and 17	Simple closing ceremony
11:00-13:00	Time to write				Departure
	Read aloud for feedback				
13:00-15:00	Lunch and rest				
15:00-16:00	Time to write			Rewrite Chap. 1 ex.	
16:00-17:30	Read aloud work to small group				
17:30-18:00	Daily evaluation and presentation by one language team of their "best" writing of the day				

Appendix B: Editing Workshop Schedule

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8:00-8:30	Devotions (study of Ephesians 4 and 5)				Formal closing ceremony (with invited guests)
8:30-8:40	Revising the content	Review of previous day's lesson(s)			
8:40-9:45		Mechanics	Page layout	Attributes of an editor	
9:45-10:00	Breakfast				
10:00-10:30	Paraphrase				
10:30-12:30	How to critique; time to edit ms. for content	Correct mechanics of manuscripts	(continue with page layout)	Typing, proofing	
12:30-15:00	Lunch and rest				Departure

15:00-16:00	Nateni orthography presentation	Mbelime orthography presentation	Page layout and revision	Proofing	
16:00-18:00	Style manual	Check the orthography of the ms.	And afterwards?	Course evaluation	

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Transitional Literacy Among the Cotabato Manobo, Philippines

Nida Guil-an Apang

Nida (Leonida) Guil-an Apang is from Mailag, Valencia, Bukidnon. She began work for the Translators Committee of the Philippines (forerunner of the Translators Association of the Philippines, or TAP) in 1979. She has served as literacy specialist for the Tigwa Manobo people and the Cotabato Manobo people, and is a Program Planning and Material Consultant for TAP. At the present time, Nida also serves as the Corporate Treasurer of TAP, but continues to monitor the literacy projects occasionally.

She received a BS in Christian Education at the Baptist Theological College in Cebu, and, in addition to her SIL training, has taken additional courses in Curriculum Development, and Psychology and Sociology of Learning at the Asian Theological Seminary in Quezon City.

Background

In 1983 the Cotabato Manobo people of Sultan Kudarat numbered about 30,000 and had a literacy rate of about 2 percent. They were highly motivated to learn to read and write in their own language.[1]

That same year my partner and I were invited by the Philippine Evangelical Enterprises, Inc. (PEEI) Board to begin a literacy program based on one Cotabato Manobo community's felt need for adult literacy classes and a community health program. A Translators Association of the Philippines (TAP) team was already working in the language program but living in a different municipality. Upon our arrival in the area where PEEI has a primary school, a teacher from PEEI and a nurse from the Medical Ambassadors of the Philippines assigned to that area helped us communicate with Manobo leaders about the right place for us to stay in the community. After much deliberation they decided on a particular village. During that meeting the leaders also identified the community's general needs, which included health and literacy.

[1]The material in this article is from a presentation at the Asia Area Literacy Conference in Chiang Mai, Thailand in May 2000.

Rationale for the transition program

A pre-primer and primer in the language were already available. New Testament portions had been translated and a Manobo hymnbook and math book had been printed. Two SIL literacy specialists had started the first literacy teacher training and writing workshop with trainees from several municipalities.

Because of the demand for literacy classes, we continued to train teachers in response to communities' requests. At first the TAP team worked under the SIL team's supervision, but then we took over conducting the workshops ourselves.

Within three to five years we had a large number of basic level graduates and the need for ongoing education was pressing. I produced a fluency curriculum and conducted classes in the different communities. This was a busy time for me because I also had to produce lessons for the "lay" supervisors' fluency classes. Later we worked together as a team with the SIL person to produce a fluency curriculum, which was divided into three phases.

The attitude to learn in the communities was remarkable and people started asking me to teach them Filipino, the national language. At first I was hesitant to do this, since teaching the national language was not included in our program plan as a team. But, because of the great demand for continuing education expressed by the learners themselves, I was motivated and challenged to conduct an experimental class in Filipino. When I shared this experience with my team partners, they encouraged me to make teaching materials in Filipino to add to our existing literacy materials. In 1993 the transition material on "Learning the Filipino Language" was printed.

During the time I was working on the Filipino materials I coordinated with the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS) regarding our plan for Filipino classes. I was invited by the NFE Division Supervisor to join the program for "Regional Training for Non-Formal Education Volunteer Teachers." I was allowed to bring three of our literacy teachers who are fluent in Filipino to undergo training with me. After the training, we conducted Filipino classes for fluency class graduates using the DECS curriculum, the *Magbassa Kita* by Santanina Rasul. By the time we finished these classes using the DECS curriculum, the transitional material I had developed earlier had been printed.

I taught the first classes in Filipino using the material I had developed for two reasons: (1) to check the material, and (2) to demonstrate the use of the curriculum to one of the lay supervisors who would teach the class in the

future. Together we checked the curriculum based on our experience with the class.

Objectives of the transition program

The objectives of the Cotabato Manobo transition program were as follows:

- To teach the Manobo people to speak the Filipino language so they can communicate orally with people from outside their language community.
- To enable Manobo adults who have finished basic and fluency classes and Levels I and II of the DECS curriculum to continue their education in Filipino.
- To provide an introduction to learning in Filipino to the young adults who are interested in enrolling in the formal system for further learning.
- To help Manobo people see that they are Filipinos, as well as Manobo.
- To establish an educational relationship with DECS by including a component on transition to the national language in our curriculum.

Outline of the curriculum

The curriculum was organized as follows:

1. Introduction to the teacher of the purpose and objectives of the curriculum
2. Philippine distinctives
3. Map of the Philippines, locating the Manobos' island and province
4. National symbols (national flag and national anthem)
5. Philippine ancestors (identification)
6. Comparison of the Cotabato Manobo and Filipino alphabets
7. Addressing people respectfully
8. Greetings and leave-takings
9. Words that ask questions

10. Nouns and pronouns
11. Singular, plural, possessive
12. Pronouns used for animals and things
13. Distinguishing phrase from sentence
14. Parts of a sentence
15. Types of sentences
16. Adjectives
17. Adverbs
18. Use of "daw" and "raw" and "din" and "rin"
19. Names of days and months
20. Parts of a letter
21. Two types of letters: friendly and invitation
22. Test questionnaire for the learner at the end of the course
23. Teaching aid for the teacher
24. Glossary (347 words) in Filipino, Manobo, English

Impact of the program

The literacy supervisors indicated that they were happy with the teachers' guide because, according to them, they now have material that relates to the formal education system.

The learners seemed to enjoy their classes, especially practicing speaking to each other in Filipino. They also appeared to enjoy practicing writing a letter and were pleased that they had learned to write in Filipino. Those who completed the course were able to carry on a simple conversation in Filipino with non-Manobos.

Some educators maintain that Manobos who have learned to read and write only in their own language should not be considered literate because they still could not communicate in the national language. Having a transition component made the literacy program more acceptable to DECS and to non-Manobos.

When I presented a proposal to the Sangguniang Bayan Council[2] of the municipality of Lebak requesting their financial support for literacy

[2]The Sangguniang Bayan Council is an official decision-making body of the Mayor, who screen all proposals for approval.

teachers in their area, I was asked to describe the course curriculum. At that time the curriculum covered only Basic and Fluency levels. Following my description of the curriculum, the Council members asked me what language was used for teaching and in the reading materials. I replied that everything was in the mother tongue, since our purpose was to teach community members to read and write in their own language. Then I was asked, "So after they graduate from your course, do you consider them literate?" I answered that I did, and explained why I believed that reading and writing in the mother tongue counts as literacy. One of the Council members said, "In our perspective, we cannot consider them literate, because when we go up to the mountains and speak to them in Filipino, which is our national language, they cannot understand us. They are not able to communicate. So we don't think we can be partners with you because we have nothing to relate to each other. We would rather have you teach them Filipino so that they can be more functional in our society."

In response to that, I told them that I had developed transitional materials for teaching the Filipino language, and that I had heard it was just off the press. This was to be used in our Level Three advanced class. They were very pleased to hear that and were happy that we did have plans to provide continuing education for the minorities after all. The council members stressed that we should not teach them only in their own language, because this would limit them to being functional only in their own little world.

Taking the transitional course prepared the young people to take the PEP (Philippine Educational Placement test) or Acceleration Test from DECS before enrolling in the formal education system. It was observed that the Belanga children who attended the Filipino class using this curriculum got very high grades in Filipino, social studies, and math when they took the DECS acceleration test. Their lowest test results were in English. The reason they did so well generally was that they already had had an introduction to the Filipino language, to social studies (taught in Filipino), and to math.

The program increased the credibility of the literacy teachers and lay supervisors, particularly in relationships with DECS. In one case, a teacher and two supervisors went to the district office to do public relations and took copies of the literacy materials with them. In the course of their conversation, the teacher asked if the DECS had funds to support their literacy program. He explained further that he was trained to teach Filipino for the Manobo people. Then he showed the Filipino curriculum to the District Supervisor. After looking through the book, the Supervisor said, "I think you received such good training that you are qualified to be a grade One teacher despite your limited educational attainment." (The teacher was

a third-year high school student.) He was actually asked to teach Grade One, but he hesitated to do this without our permission.

Finally, the program helped Manobo people become aware of and accept their dual identity. Before, when lowlanders told them they were Filipinos, the Manobo would deny it. After the transition class, they finally understood that they are also Filipino. Having recognized that they have things in common with non-Manobo people, they are friendlier with them.

Conclusion

My personal observations and experiences in this program have convinced me that ongoing education must be part of our literacy programs. This will keep the new readers from going back to illiteracy, since they will have a chance to apply and develop the new skills they have learned. I highly recommend transitional programs as an important means of helping minority learners function more easily in mainstream society.

If I were to start all over again, I would ask the community to decide what particular topics they want to learn in Filipino. Ideally, the community should feel that it is their program. Once a sense of ownership is felt and people accept the responsibility that goes along with that, the program is more likely to be sustained.

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Notes on Literacy 27.4:25–34.

Pedagogical Dictionaries: Ho-hum or Gung-ho?

Louise Maranz

Louise and David Maranz applied to SIL on their honeymoon in 1961, and became members later that same year. In Brazil and Cameroon, Louise's primary assignment was in teaching elementary school children. As part of a Community Development Project, the Maranzes also taught literacy to Guajajara men and women in Northern Brazil. Louise taught for SIL in the American School of Brasilia and the International School of Yaoundé.

After receiving further training in Adult Literacy at SIL and Biola University, Louise became Literacy Coordinator in Senegal where she had oversight of SIL literacy programs, designed and conducted literacy teacher training workshops, and worked in the development of post-literacy materials in the Wolof language. The Wolof Pedagogical Dictionary *was published in September 2000 and is among the best sellers in the many SIL vernacular titles.*

Currently, David and Louise live in Dallas, Texas, and Louise (although officially retired) assists in the International Literacy Office. They have three children and four grandchildren; one son is in Israel, and the others are in the U.S.

Introduction

According to Webster (1978), a dictionary can be quite uncomplicated: "a book of alphabetically listed words in a language with their equivalents in another language" or "any alphabetically arranged list of words or articles relating to a special subject." However, a dictionary may be more elaborate: "a book of alphabetically listed words in a language, with definitions, entomologies, pronunciations, and other information." For those producing literacy materials, dictionary-making offers many interesting choices.

To the general public, a dictionary implicitly states that their language is important. It validates their oral tradition and encourages a written tradition, which may still be in the development stage. A dictionary also has the potential to motivate the non-literate to want to read and write the language. For those who already have an interest in literacy, it can stimulate ongoing literacy development.

This article focuses on the "pedagogical dictionary" which, in addition to its lexical content, provides instructions for dictionary use. It teaches the concept of alphabetical order, introduces new readers to the structural parts of the dictionary and applies this knowledge to reading, writing, and spelling.

The case of the *Wolof Pedagogical Dictionary* (WPD)

In Senegal, the SIL field administration wanted to stimulate literacy and language development by producing a small, affordable dictionary in each language project. Besides having to wait years for a complete dictionary to be published in a language, the price of such a volume would have been beyond the means of most local people.

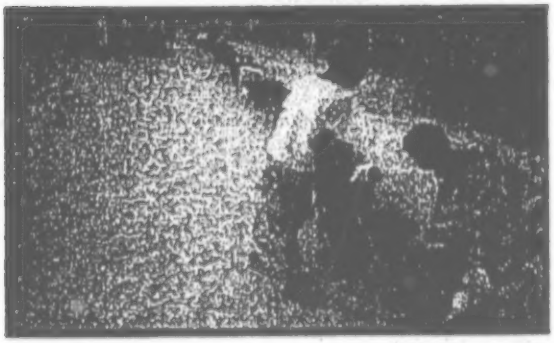
For the Wolof language, a small, simple, and affordable dictionary promised to impact more individuals and literacy classes than a larger version. However, as decisions were made regarding content, it soon became evident that instruction on dictionary use needed to be included.

In Wolof literacy teacher training courses, SIL personnel attempted to teach grassroots teachers to incorporate dictionary use in their classes. They found conceptualizing alphabetical order to be difficult. (This may have been further affected by the fact that in the primers they were trained to teach, letters were not taught in alphabetical order.) Teaching this abstract idea of obligatory ordering of the alphabet was a challenge. But how could a dictionary be useful apart from grasping this concept? We searched for a cultural, concrete example of obligatory ordering.

There was one example that seemed to illustrate the concept that we wanted. In sub-Saharan areas, water is not available at all hours even from the wells. The owner of a pan may leave it by the faucet to "hold her place" in line while she continues her work. Everyone respects the order in which the pans are placed. Both educated Wolofs and those who were new readers enthusiastically accepted the model shown in figures 1–3. Many of the lessons involve the use of these pages.

The development of the "alphabet pans" led to development of additional instructional helps. The "small, simple, affordable" vernacular dictionary was evolving into a more specialized "pedagogical dictionary."

Toftalante abajada



Natmal yi-Mbaayi Bawo Ernest, fràn yi-Daviid Maranz

Figure 1. Pans lined up for collection of water. (Wolof heading says "Alphabetical Order")

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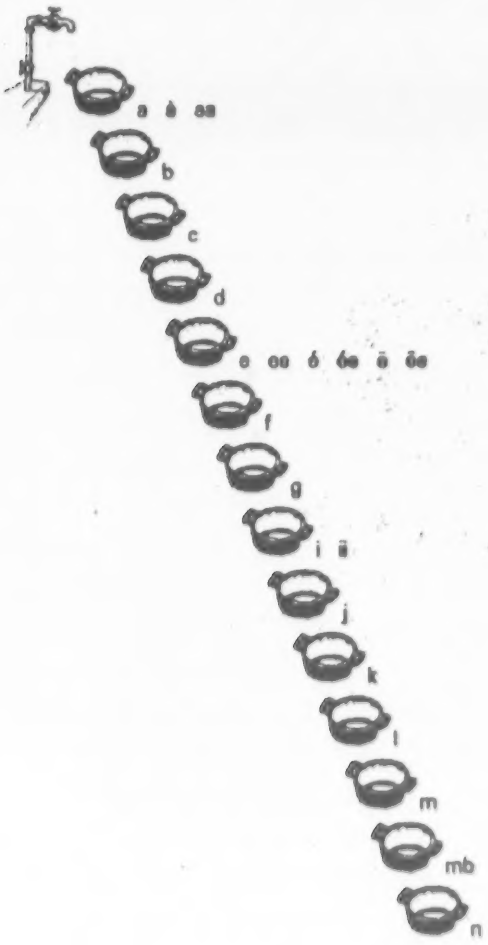

Figure 2. Line-up of pans representing first part of alphabet showing *a* through *n*.

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Figure 3. Continuation of the line of alphabet pans, beginning with *nd* and ending with *y*.

Instructional components of the *Wolof Pedagogical Dictionary*

The *Wolof Pedagogical Dictionary* is a 127-page textbook with 903 dictionary entries and 38 pages of teaching instructions. It is about practical literacy, especially writing, and spelling. For this reason the corpus of the dictionary is limited to familiar words plus some literacy vocabulary.

The instructional section of the WPD systematically covers: (1) teaching of alphabetical order; (2) practice using the information given in the dictionary entry; and, (3) review of sound/symbol relationships. These components are combined and repeated in subsequent lessons that are organized around the letters of the alphabet. The lessons are cumulative and progressively more difficult.

When learners are familiar with these components (about halfway through the alphabet), they are challenged to apply what they have learned to their personal literacy needs. A series of special lessons are inserted at this point to lead to the ability to locate particular words. A credible scenario is presented where a fictitious person needs to write but he cannot spell the crucial word "horse". Learners are led to find that word in the dictionary. They move from the need to identify the word-initial sound/symbol to the necessity of identifying the second and even a third sound/symbol in a word.

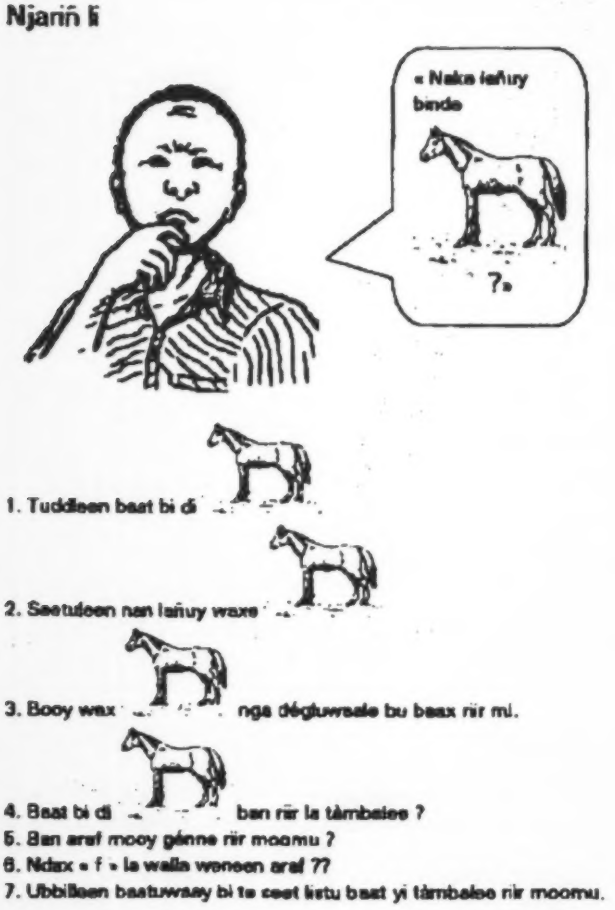
Njariñ li
« Naka lañuy binde
?»
1. Tuddleen baat bi di
2. Seetuleen nan lañuy waxe
3. Booy wax
nga dégluwaale bu baax rir mi.
4. Baat bi di
ban rir la tàmbalee ?
5. Ban araf mooy génne rir moomu ?
6. Ndax « f » la walla woneen araf ??
7. Ubbileen baatuwaay bi te ceet listu baat yi tàmbalee rir moomu.

Figure 4. "How do you spell 'horse'?"

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As the systematic instructional coverage continues, the lessons also encourage learners to apply their dictionary knowledge to writing activities, using the dictionary for standard spelling. Since the official Wolof orthography is largely phonemic, this spelling should eventually become intuitive as they master sound/symbol relationships. The last letter of the alphabet signals the end of the systematic coverage and culminates with an overall review of dictionary skills.

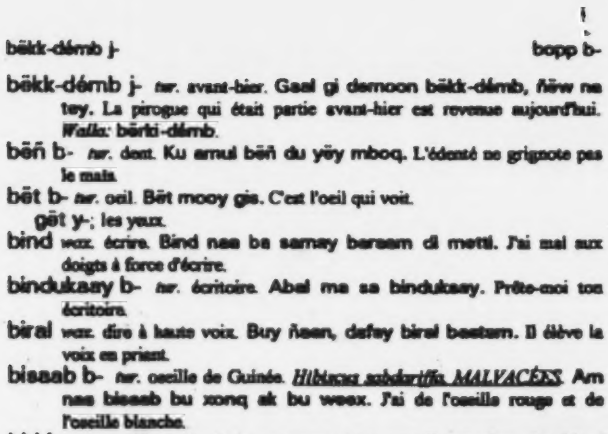
The concluding section of lessons feature spelling exercises using minimal pairs and triplets. Correct spelling through analogy is encouraged. These final lessons provide teachers with instructional content for ongoing spelling lessons and dictations

When-where questions for pedagogical dictionaries

There are some prerequisites to the development of a pedagogical dictionary: (1) an official orthography, (2) some people in the language group who are developing literacy skills and, (3) some post-literacy materials available or in development. Given these factors, a small pedagogical dictionary can assist in language development, as well as prepare the way for a future, larger dictionary.

Pedagogical dictionaries are useful for teaching adults or children who have an appreciation for their language, who have had a taste of literacy and desire more, and who have the motivation to practice literacy skills. They can be considered textbooks and can be used in advanced literacy classes, in literacy teacher training, and in vernacular schools. They are also suitable for libraries and for use by private citizens.

The variety lesson that follows (shown in figures 5 and 6) reinforces knowledge of the kinds of information available to learners in a dictionary entry.



bëkk-démb j- bopp b-

bëkk-démb j- *tar.* avant-hier. Gaal gi demoon bëkk-démb, *ñëw* na tey. La pirogue qui était partie avant-hier est revenue aujourd'hui. *Walla:* bërki-démb.

bëñ b- *tar.* dent. Ku amul bëñ du yëy mboq. L'édenté ne grignote pas le maïs.

bët b- *tar.* oeil. Bët mooy gis. C'est l'oeil qui voit.
gët y-; les yeux.

bind *wax.* écrire. Bind naa ba samay bareem di metti. J'ai mal aux doigts à force d'écrire.

bindukaay b- *tar.* écritoire. Abal ma sa bindukaay. Prête-moi ton écritoire.

biral *wax.* dire à haute voix. Buy ñaan, dafay biral beetam. Il élève la voix en priant.

bisaab b- *tar.* oseille de Guinée. *Hibiscus subdariffa MALVACÉES.* Am naa bisaab bu xonq ak bu weex. J'ai de l'oseille rouge et de l'oseille blanche.

biti b- *tar.* extérieur, l'endroit par rapport à l'envers. Fetal yére yi nekk ci biti balaa tew bee *ñëw*. Ranges les vêtements qui sont à l'extérieur avant que la pluie ne se mette à tomber.
c- biti; dehors, extérieur (à l'). Xale yi ñu ngiy fo ci biti. Les enfants jouent dehors.

bitig b- *tar.* boutique, magasin, fonds de commerce. Naar bi ubbi na bitig ci kañ bi. Le maure a ouvert une boutique dans le quartier. *Jége cf:* fr.

bïr b- *tar.* ventre, intérieur. Lekk na ba bïr bi réy. Son ventre est gros à force de manger.
c- bïr; dans, dedans. Tew bi ñëw na, toogal ci bïr néeg bi. La pluie arrive, reste dans la chambre.

bokk *wax.* posséder en commun, partager. Noo bokk reer tey. Nous avons dîné ensemble aujourd'hui.

bon *wax.* être mauvais. Sa oto bu bon bi taxaweti na. Ta mauvaise voiture a encore calé.

bon *baatu boole.* donc. Bon nag, nanu def noonu. Donc faisons ainsi. *Walla:* kon.

bopp b- *tar.* tête. Wetal sa bopp bu bari kawar bii. Rase ta tête qui est si chevelue!
sama bopp; moi-même.
sa bopp; toi-même. Tey yaay waxal sa bopp. Aujourd'hui tu parleras pour toi même.

Figure 5. Page from *Wolof Pedagogical Dictionary*

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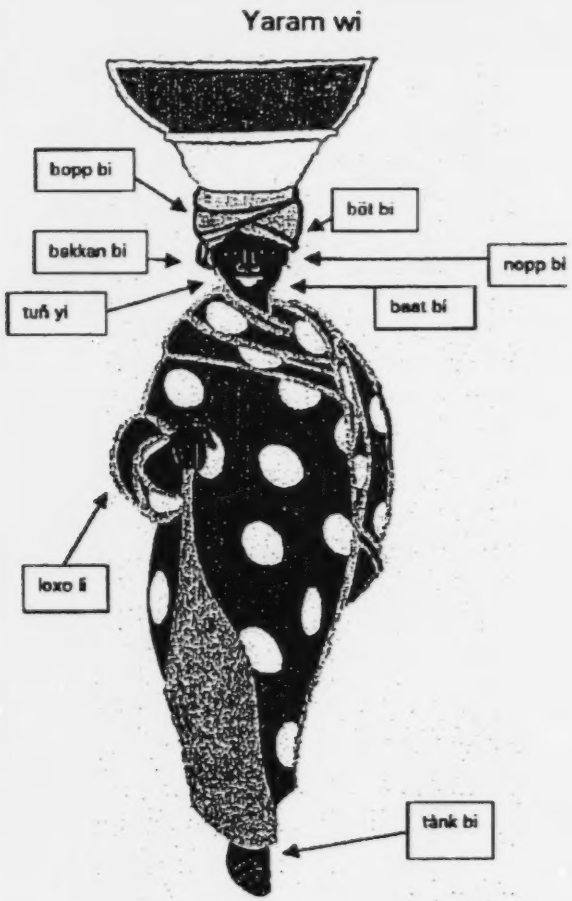

Figure 6. The body parts labeled in this figure appear as entries in the dictionary, with two entries shown in figure 5.

Conclusion

Pedagogical dictionaries have many possible uses and varying teaching strategies can be employed in their design and use. Decisions on these, and other decisions such as the actual lexical content of the dictionary, should be the responsibility of the local language committee.

The very nature of any dictionary is its corpus of words. However, in a pedagogical dictionary, the corpus becomes a rich source of raw material. With this raw material, multiple teaching tools for literacy can be created. Customize tools to your specific language, culture, and leaning style. The possibilities are unlimited.

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Reference

Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language. 1978. 2nd ed. William Collins+World Publishing Co.

Notes on Literacy 27.4:35–42.

Reviews

Baker, Colin. 2001. *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, Third edition. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters Ltd. 484 pages. US$74.95 (hardcover), US$24.95 (paperback).

Reviewed by Kristen Hoatson

The idea for this book came to Baker in the early 1990s after being challenged to "Consider writing THE textbook on Bilingual Education" (2001:xi). Baker, a professor of Education at the University of Wales at Bangor and Director of Research Centre Wales, has written extensively on bilingualism and bilingual education. He wrote this book from a cross-disciplinary approach. It is "intended as an introduction to bilingual education and bilingualism" (p. vii).

In addition to providing foundational knowledge on bilingual education and bilingualism, Baker seeks to foster positive attitudes in these areas. In his words, "the motivating force behind this book is to introduce students to a positive world of bilingualism and bilingual education. The book has been written for minority language students seeking to understand and preserve, and for majority language students seeking to become more sensitized. The book is an attempt to contribute to the preservation and celebration of a linguistically and culturally diverse world" (2001:x).

Baker's book is divided into three major divisions. The first section addresses the foundational issues impacting bilingual education and bilingualism. This section covers questions such as:

- Who are bilinguals?
- How does bilingual education fit into minority language maintenance, language decay, and language revival?
- How does a child become bilingual?
- What effect does the home and the neighborhood play in developing bilingualism?
- Does bilingualism have a positive or negative effect on thinking? (pp. ix–x)

The second section looks at the different aspects of bilingual education. It addresses questions like:

- What forms of bilingual education are more successful?

- What are the aims and outcomes of different types of bilingual education?
- What are the essential features and approaches of a classroom fostering bilingualism?
- What are the key problems and issues of bilingual classrooms? (p. x)

The final section of the book looks at the issues of bilingualism. Questions examined here include:

- Why are there different viewpoints about language minorities and bilingual education?
- Why do some people prefer the assimilation of language minorities and others prefer linguistic diversity?
- Can schools play a role in a more multicultural and less racist society?
- Will globalization mean the demise of minority languages in the world? (p. x)

Having used Baker's previous edition as a textbook in two of my courses in Dallas, I think he lays an excellent foundation for learning about bilingual education and bilingualism. His writing is clear, concise, and easy to understand. Throughout the book, he includes helpful summaries of key concepts, historical background, debates, and research. When sharing about research findings that favor bilingual education and bilingualism, Baker is careful to share criticisms of these findings, too.

While aimed at being an introductory text, Baker provides readers with more experience in bilingual education and bilingualism with the most current research and a list of suggested readings as a springboard for further research. In this third edition, Baker includes the latest research and a list of topics that are new or covered more thoroughly than in previous editions. The major changes of the third edition are additional topics, such as recent changes in bilingual education in the U.S., language loss in the world, trilingualism, recent debates on effective bilingual education, more on the politics of bilingual education, immersion education experiences outside Canada, bilingualism in the economy, bilingualism and information communications, and the technology revolution. In addition, he gives a list of thirty-two "World-Wide Web Sites for Bilinguals" (pp. 426–427), which is a good starting point for Internet research.

I would recommend this book to anyone working in a multilingual environment. The layout of the book is user-friendly for those who want answers to

specific questions about bilingual education and bilingualism without studying the whole book. Especially helpful chapters were:

- Chapter 3: "Languages in Society" which deals with diglossia, language planning, language shift, language maintenance, and language death.
- Chapter 4: "Language Revival and Revitalization"
- Chapter 7: "Bilingualism and Cognition" which looks at the impact of bilingualism on thinking.
- Chapter 8: "Cognitive Theories of Bilingualism and the Curriculum" which looks at different explanations of how bilingualism works and how one's theory has an impacton one's attitudes toward bilingualism.
- Chapters 11 and 12: "The Effectiveness of Bilingual Education" and "The Effectiveness of Bilingual Education: The United States Debate"
- Chapter 16: "Literacy and Biliteracy in the Classroom"
- Chapter 18: "The Politics of Bilingualism" which points out the need to consider how one's work fits into the overall language policy of the state/nation where one is working.

Even before I joined SIL, I saw the value of learning to read in the mother tongue first and then transferring the skill of reading to whatever language is desired. I saw bilingualism and bilingual education as good things, but I could not intelligently explain why. Through my literacy training, I began to realize that I did not know how to address the concerns of those who oppose bilingual education and the preservation of mother tongues on such issues as: (1) bilingual education is not effective; (2) focusing on the mother tongue will hinder a child's ability to learn the national language and get ahead; and (3) focusing on minority languages fosters national disunity. After studying Baker's book, I better understand these concerns and feel more confident in explaining the benefits of bilingual education and bilingualism. I am grateful for that because I think it has better prepared me to serve in the multilingual societies where SIL works as they deal with these issues every day.

McKay, Heather and Abigail Tom. 2000. *Teaching Adult Second Language Learners*. NY: Cambridge University Press. 234 pages. U.S.$20.95 (paperback)

Reviewed by Carole Spaeth

The authors of this very helpful handbook (one of a series in the *Cambridge Handbooks for Language Teachers*) have provided an excellent resource for those who are involved in teaching adult second-language learners, wherever in the world they may be located. The book is organized to assist these teachers by: (1) addressing general questions concerning lesson organization and content, and (2) providing specific activities to make the classes more successful.

The first section of the book gives solid background and support for the extensive activities section. It addresses areas such as:

- Characteristics of an adult learner (including a section on learning styles).
- Various methods of data collection (and their purposes/benefits), including some interviewing techniques/strategies (such as follow-up questions and "judicious silence").
- Suggestions for conducting needs analyses.
- Assumptions about language learning. Some quotes that allude to the authors' perspective are:
  - "Language is an interrelated and meaningful whole...By presenting structure and vocabulary in meaningful contexts, we can ensure that use reinforces form. Furthermore, in a holistic view of language, all four skill areas, listening, speaking, reading and writing, are important and support each other..." (p. 15.)
  - "Learning a language is an integrated process...One does not learn a language 'brick by brick,' mastering one bit before going on to the next." (p. 15)
  - "Mistakes are a normal and necessary part of language learning..."(p.15)
  - "The classroom atmosphere affects learning...In a classroom where the atmosphere is friendly and

supportive, students are more willing to take risks in using the new language...Perhaps the most crucial role of the teacher is to foster an atmosphere of mutual respect in her class." (p. 16)

- "The learner is an active partner in the learning process...By working as a team, the teacher and students together are better able to explore and customize the teaching program to suit the needs of the learners..." (p. 16)

- Organizing a course.
- Balancing lessons.
- Working with a multilevel class.
- Choosing teaching materials.

The second section focuses on building community in the classroom. Here the authors present some "initial and ongoing activities and grouping strategies to help the class gain a sense of solidarity, inclusion, and comfort, which is essential to free and easy communication" (p. 23). This includes topics such as arranging the classroom, establishing classroom routines, pair and group work, and getting acquainted. While the authors have generally presented the materials in the handbook without a particular cultural bias, it is obvious that certain suggested activities (in this section and others) need to be sifted through the appropriate cultural grid.

The units in the remainder of the book present theme-based "classroom activities organized around topics that are common to adult second-language programs: personal identification, family, community, food, clothing, housing, health, work, and money" (p. 23). Each activity includes information on how long the activity might take in a normal classroom setting, the levels for which it is appropriate, and other information to assist the teacher in planning. One of the things that I like most about the activities is that there are variations on the main activity that facilitate planning for various levels, which are so often within the same classroom at the same time.

The bibliography is fairly impressive, although the authors admit that it is "brief" and they have "chosen to focus on books that are applicable to the teaching of various languages rather than on textbooks for a specific language" (p. 231).

As a teacher of English to speakers of other languages in the U. S., I can find numerous activities for all levels of learners. Once the teacher has identified the needs of the class and their preferred learning styles, it can be a simple matter to choose an activity suited to those criteria, and, with

minor tweaking, adapt it quite easily to a "customized" lesson plan. Even the illustrations (such as the Heimlich maneuver, p. 171) can be photocopied for use with the lesson.

Although the activities are almost immediately transferable in a Western setting, a little more effort and creativity is necessary for adapting to other cultural settings. However, there is still plenty of material that is useful. For example, one lesson has to do with discussion of food proverbs (e.g., "Man cannot live by bread alone" or "An apple a day keeps the doctor away" (p. 105). I have used this activity in a lesson on food in the ESL class that I teach. The (intermediate) students were challenged to think of food-related proverbs in their home countries. Although it was somewhat difficult for them to translate easily into English, the outcome was very interesting, and also served to affirm their own culture.

Even in view of some limitations in a broader cultural context, I still would recommend the book as a resource for anyone teaching a second (or third or fourth) language to adults. This is just another example of the exceptional quality you can expect of the *Cambridge Handbooks for Language Teachers*. In my opinion, the material is theoretically sound, and is an overall excellent resource.

Sanderson, Paul. 1999. *Using Newspapers in the Classroom.* NY: Cambridge University Press. 275 pages. US$22.95 (paperback).

Reviewed by Carole Spaeth

What is one of the most valuable and readily available resources for teachers of second-language learners that is frequently avoided? Okay, so the title of the book gives a hint, but it is true: newspapers are usually accessible and have updated relevant information on a daily basis (in most cases). So, why do teachers in the L2 classroom so often avoid using them? One answer may be because of some misperceptions. Paul Sanderson, author of *Using Newspapers in the Classroom*, offers sufficient information to dispel at least some of these misperceptions.

> Misperception #1: Only second-language learners who are intermediate level or above can use newspapers for language learning.
>
> Fact: Newspaper materials can greatly benefit even pre-intermediate learners, when used appropriately.

Paul Sanderson successfully debunks the idea that newspapers are too difficult to use as teaching materials for second-language learners. Although he admits that the language is "in no sense graded" to suit the pre-intermediate levels, he does outline four key ways that teachers can successfully use newspaper materials with even pre-intermediate students (p. 13). In fact, he states unequivocally "teachers should be aware of the importance of using newspaper materials at early stages of learning" (p. 12).

The author has taken much of the mystery out of journalism for second-language learners by compiling numerous activities for the teacher's use that reveal, clue by clue, the value of what is written. Using newspaper-based activities and tasks, he provides learners with purposeful and valuable language practice that develops reading, writing, speaking, and listening skills (p. 1). Success on a small scale builds confidence in the learners, motivating them to tackle more extensive reading outside the classroom.

> Misperception #2: The language styles vary so much in a newspaper, it is just too difficult to use for teaching second-language learners.
>
> Fact: Rather than being a problem, varying language styles is an opportunity for L-2 learners.

The author gives convincing proof of the importance of using newspapers in the language classroom. The variety of text types and language styles is one of eleven arguments he gives in support of the value of newspapers. "Newspapers contain a wide variety of text types and language styles not easily found in conventional language-learning materials (e.g., general course books), and students need to become familiar with such language forms" (p. 2).

> Misperception #3: It is not feasible to use newspapers in the classroom because they are expensive and inaccessible (especially English language newspapers).
>
> Fact: There are cost-effective ways to access newspapers in most parts of the world.

Sanderson shows his sensitivity to the difficulties of access to newspapers in many parts of the world by offering some suggestions for making them accessible and minimizing the costs. While some of these suggestions may be more suitable in some global locations than others, one or more of these hints may be helpful for those with limited resources (pp. 5–7).

> Misperception #4: There is not much you can do with a newspaper besides teach grammar and idioms.
>
> Fact: Newspapers, as well as other materials, can be used to integrate reading, writing, speaking, and listening skills.

The author has organized the activities in ten different classifications, ranging from "Headlines" to "Cartoons," and a lot in between. The "Introduction" (comprising only 18 pages) leads the reader directly to the "meat" of the book—the activities. Each chapter has several activities relating to that topic. The activities are very user-friendly, giving the suggested level of student for whom the activity is most suitable, the preparation needed, and a step-by-step explanation of how to present the material. There is usually some suggested "extensions" for higher-level groups, or for longer periods of time, as well as cross-references, which can help in thematic planning. Many activities include classroom aids that can be photocopied.

A random example of an activity utilizing articles was about "unpacking sentences" (p. 50), taken from an authentic "News in Brief" type article. From the single lead-in sentence, eleven chunks of information were pulled out, making the long convoluted sentence more manageable for second-language learners. "For language students, sentence length can be an obstacle to understanding. If you add to this the fact that many such sentences can be very densely packed with information, it is not surprising that they have to be read very carefully for the reader to extract all the facts" (p. 51).

> Misperception #5: The use of newspapers is becoming obsolete with the advent of the Internet.
>
> Fact: The Internet facilitates the use of newspapers, whether in newsprint or on-line.

In addition to a wealth of activities, Paul Sanderson provides an appendix giving valuable websites for accessing news from several countries, as well as a section on "Cartoons and Strip Cartoons" (pp. 264–265). Other appendices include "Stylistic and Structural Features of Newspaper Headlines" (pp. 259–263) and "Abbreviations Used in Classified Advertisements" (pp. 266–269).

While the British perspective is evident in some of the suggestions, I have successfully used many of the activities in an ESL classroom in the U.S. In fact, I was sufficiently impressed by the positive reactions of the students when I incorporated the activities in my lesson plans that it became the impetus for a presentation at a TESOL conference on the value of media in the classroom. Obviously, then, I have no hesitation in highly recommending this book as one of the must-have resources for the person teaching in the second-language classroom.

A Farewell to *Notes on Literacy*

This is the final issue of *Notes on Literacy*. The reasons are partly practical, partly due to the changing world in which we live, but largely due to recognizing and dealing with the divided nature of our current audience.

Recently some of SIL's other "Notes On..." journals have been stretched to the limit in terms of resources to publish. This caused us to re-examine our whole journal strategy, and we realized afresh that our two-audience journal was not serving either of the two adequately. Fortunately, an alternative for all the SIL "Notes On..." journals was readily at hand.

Since 1996, the *SIL Electronic Working Papers (www.sil.org/silewp/)* has been a part of the SIL website and has featured a variety of academic papers. While a few papers have been posted every year, this site thus far has not come up to its actual potential. Our new strategy for publishing articles related to literacy program development and to language and education will focus on these *Electronic Working Papers (EWP).* We are encouraging our SIL members to submit their articles to this publishing option. Since EWP is a "working papers" style of publication, authors will be free to further develop their papers and publish them elsewhere if they so choose.

SIL literacy fieldworkers also have another option for addressing issues of relevance on literacy related themes, such as orthography or women's education. They may contribute to the occasional monographs of the series *SIL Publications in Language and Education.*

In our internet-based world, we believe electronic publication is a better way to get our core academic production to a wider audience, and at a cheaper cost as well. However, this step forward as a new publishing strategy will mean farewell to the *Notes on Literacy* journal of the past. We trust that NOLit has served well in its time.

The first issue of *Notes on Literacy,* in 1966, was launched by well-known linguist and educator, Dr. Sarah Gudschinsky. The intention was for it to be an in-house publication for SIL members, an "...occasional publication of varying size depending on the materials," largely from contributions by the membership. The focus would be "materials and methods for teaching reading and writing...(and)...related topics." Two main articles appeared in that first issue: "The Strategy of a Literacy Program," by Gudschinsky and "Writing a Health Book in Amuesha" by Martha Duff. In that issue

Gudschinsky announced plans for conducting an SIL Literacy Consultant Seminar to be held in Norman, Oklahoma in 1968 and her plans to hold literacy workshops in Vietnam, Nigeria, and India. *Notes on Literacy* 2 gave highlights of those workshops and reflected on what she learned from the host country participants who attended them. For example, an editorial note showed that she was beginning to discover that grammatical particles (which she later dubbed as "functors") needed to be handled differently than content words. In the main article in the issue she began to introduce the steps for what has become known as the Gudschinsky Model for literacy primer development.

Dr. Gudschinsky served as SIL International Literacy Coordinator and editor of NOLit for a number of years. After her untimely death with cancer, other SIL literacy personnel served in the NOLit editor position, namely Margaret M. Wendell, Dr. Ray Gordon, Dr. Olive Shell, Dr. Ron Anderson, Les and Sara Brinkerhoff, Judith Moine-Boothe, and Carole Spaeth.

Notes on Literacy was designed to give practical tips to the ordinary SIL fieldworker on how to conduct literacy work. However, this original focus eventually spread to include the larger academic world. As the years passed, more sophisticated articles made their appearance, and scholars and libraries outside SIL expressed interest in our modest publication. Thus, NOLit became a quarterly journal but with two distinct, though overlapping, audiences and two divergent aims: a source of practical literacy program information for fieldworkers, but also a source of information with engagement in international literacy discussions.

Besides the regular issues produced during the thirty-six years of its production, NOLit has produced several Special Issues, as well as Cumulative Index Issues in 1993 and 2001. In addition, the entire series was made available on computer through the *Literacy Bookshelf* of the *LinguaLinks Library.*

Past issues of *Notes on Literacy* will continue to be available through the CD ROM *Lingualinks Library* in the *Literacy Bookshelf* section available through the Academic Bookstore, *www.sil.org/acpub.* Look for other items of interest in the literacy domain at *www.sil.org/literacy.*

Adios *Notes on Literacy.*

Pat Kelley
International Literacy Coordinator

Carole Spaeth
Notes on Literacy Editor

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